DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: S E C R E T

PROCESSING ACTION: X MARKED FOR INDEXING | NO INDEXING REQUIRED | ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING

TO: Chief, WH Division

INFO.: Chief of Station, Guatemala City

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

MICROFILMED JAN 5 1969 DOC. MICRO. SER.

SUBJECT: PBRUMEN/The LIRING-3 Operation

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Action Required: See paragraph 2.

References : A. HMMA-35905, 27 November 1968
B. MEXICO CITY-8228, 27 November 1968

1. Forwarded herewith as attachment #1 are four reports on the latest developments of the LIRING-3 operation prepared by Wallace B. ROWTON and dated 5, 10, 11, and 12 December. The most important points covered in these reports are as follow:

a. LIRING-3 made contact on 5 December with one Humberto*GONZALEZ Vega (no Station traces), who has apparently been designated by the FAR as the latter's contact with LIRING-3 in Mexico City. A description and a sketch of GONZALEZ provided by LIRING-3 are contained in ROWTON's 10 December report.

Continued.....................

Re: connection with 201-798301

Attachments:
1. Reports (4), h/w
2. Letter (1), u/s/c
3. Identity sheet (1), u/s/c

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/atts - 1 copy each #1 and #2; 3 copies att #3)
2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/atts - 1 copy each #1 and #2; 2 copies att #3)

s/c att: 2
h/w att: 1

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CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
	HMMA - 36114	27 December 1968
	CLASSIFICATION: S E C R E T	HQS FILE NUMBER: 201-798301

b. According to GONZALEZ, Identity D, who left for Guatemala with LIRING-3 and, according to the latter, was probably executed after a period of detention, may still be alive and may have made a "deal" with the Guatemalan authorities. Identity D had apparently misappropriated FAR funds before going to Guatemala. LIRING-9's remarks to LIRING-3, as mentioned in ROWTON's report of 5 December, may be connected with Identity D's misdoings.

c. LIRING-3 hinted to LIRING-9 that he may accept a teaching job at the University of Jalapa. (Such a job was indeed recently offered to him.) LIRING-9 advised LIRING-3 not to accept this as he would much rather send him on a trip to PBRUMEN.

d. From a letter received from Gustavo *COLINDRES Barrios, LIRING-3 gathered that the *BARRIOS brothers (Miguel and Juan Leon) may soon be released and may, in fact, contact him in Mexico City. The original text of that letter and its envelope are forwarded under separate cover as attachment #2. LIRING-3 interpreted some remarks made to him by Humberto GONZALEZ as another indication of a possible contact by the BARRIOS brothers in the near future. LIRING-3 plans to write back to the address given by COLINDRES and mention that he is in contact with GONZALEZ in the hope of getting a reaction from COLINDRES.

(handwritten: Cit. Guatemala; A: Guatemala)

2. The Station plans to check further the identity given by GONZALEZ. Among other things, an attempt will be made via LIKAYAK-2 to check whether a file in that name exists in the archives of the Mexican Ministry of "Gobernacion." The Station may, at a later date, attempt spot surveillance of GONZALEZ. Meanwhile, any information that can be provided by the Guatemala City Station to further identify GONZALEZ would be appreciated.

(handwritten: X BARRIOS, Miguel (201-216006); X BARRIOS, JUAN Leon)

(signature: Raymond H. ...)
for Willard C. CURTIS

(handwritten: ... att. 3)

HEREWITH ATTACHMENT TO HMMA-37739

21 Aug 69

SECRET

AGENT SERVICE RECORD

1. **Agent Cryptonym:** LIRING-3

2. **Project:** LIRVINE

3. **Agent Recruited By:** Wallace P. BOLTON

4. **Capacity in Which Agent Served:** Access agent to Cuban Embassy; Informant on Central American revolutionary groups and activities.
5. **Rate of Pay:** Did not receive regular salary, but was given between 3000 and 3500 Mexican pesos per month. (Equivalent to $240 to $280).
6. **Other Commitments:** None

7. **Agent Dismissed By:** Leonard S. TORMET. Dismissal effective 1 July 1969.

8. **Reason for Dismissal:** Agent in effect terminated himself, since he failed to initiate contact with Station after being turned over to TORMET by BOLTON.

9. **Security Risks:** LIRING-3 was not made witting of [illegible] interest in this case. He knew both BOLTON and TORMET in alias. No safehouses were exposed to LIRING-3. LIRING-3 was met once in TORMET's QF vehicle.

10. ~~Security Risks:~~

11. **Manner of Dismissal:** As stated above, no direct dismissal was made, since LIRING-3 broke off contact with the Station.

12. **Letter of Termination Signed:** No

13. **Cost of Termination:** None

14. **Station Case Officer:** Leonard S. TORMET [signature]
(Signature in Pseudonym)

Acting
15. **Chief of Station:** Horace E. P[illegible]LETT [signature]
(Signature Pseudonym)

APPROVED: [signature]
WH CONTRACT APPROVING OFFICER
Sep. 18, 1969

SECRET

REVIEWED: [signature]
Special Contracting Officer

h/w att. 1
HMMA-37739

CS COPY

201-798301

14-00000

ATTACHMENT #1
HMMA-36114

5 December, 1968

MICROFILMED JAN 6 1969 DOC. MICRO. SER.

CONTACT REPORT

1. Agent: LIRING/3
2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1100, 5/12/68; Identity A
3. Next Meeting: 1700, 6/12/68; Iden A
4. Administrative: Rowton asked LIRING/3 to rent a small apartment that they could use as a safehouse, in lieu of Iden A, for the future. This was not only in the interest of economy, for for^are obvious security reasons. Rowton gave LIRING/3 1,500 pesos as an advance for this purpose.
5. Reports/Information Passed by Agent:

LIRING/3 reported to Rowton that he had dropped into the LIRING office on 4/12/68 in the hope of running into the LIRING Chief so that he could mention to him casually the proposed trip to PBRUMEN at the end of the month. LIRING/3 told Rowton that he did not see the Chief inasmuch as he was intercepted by LIRING/9. The latter appeared as cordial as on the previous occasion, but this time made a brief reference to LIRING/3's report. He asked: "Are you sure you included everything?" L/3 told Rowton that he replied in a rather puzzled tone, "Of course. Everything, that is, that I could remember." To which L/9 explained: "I mean about the 'motivos' of the arrest. It seems there's more to it than you wrote. We have some interesting data on that subject. We'll discuss it with you on Friday." LIRING/3 then reported to Rowton that when he and LIRING/4 dropped in to Identity B on 3/12/68 the secretary of the Director, Identity C, gave them a message that a person by the name of Humberto Gonzalez Vega, residing at Calle Manzanillo 42, in apartment 8, had visited Iden B several times asking for the address of LIRING/3.

LIRING/3 continued to Rowton that he attempted to contact Humberto Gonzalez Vega at the address given on 4/12/68 but was told by a woman of about 35 years of age with a slight Guatemalan accent that he was out at the time. She took L/3's address with interest and suggested that L/3 return after 1500 the following day in the event Gonzalez did not contact him at his home. L/3 told Rowton that he guessed (and hoped that this was "Pavel".

h/w att: 1
HMMA-36114

CS COPY

WBV/ 201-798301

14-00000

ATTACHMENT #1
HMMA-36114

10 December,1968

Subject: LIRING/3 Report of Contact with Humberto González Vega.

1. At 1000 on 9/12/68 at Identity A , LIRING/3 reported to Rowton that he had met with Humberto González Vega on 5 and 6 December. He related that he had gone back to the apartment on Calle Manzanillo on the afternoon of 5 December, met González and made a date to see him again on the morning of 6 December. When he returned about 1030 on that day González' wife said that he had just stepped out to telephone the embassy of Ecuador. L/3 went out and found González at a nearby telephone booth and managed to have a relatively detailed chat with him.

2. According to L/3, González sarted off by saying that he had been looking forward to meeting L/3 for some time, since he had heard a great deal about him from mutual friends. González went on to say that although he had been away from Guatemala for the past four years, he kept in touch with his friends there. He dropped the names of Sandoval Alegría, Jorge Torrón and a certain Avecillas (phon) who he assumed were known to LIRING/3. He concluded his introductory remarks with the statement that he hoped he and L/3 would become friends, since they could be of mutual help.

3. González added that he was making a living selling books and was planning to open a book store at the University. He indicated that he might be able to help L/3 financially if the latter were interested in this business venture. González then stated that he was aware of L/3's arrest and detention and alleged that he had advance information concerning L/3's trip to Guatemala in the company of Identity D . He then asked L/3 whether he knew the real purpose of Iden D trip. When L/3 replied in a non-committal way, González alleged thatIden Dhad been accused of misappropriation of funds and took the trip in the hope of defending himself against these charges, González then produced a typewritten letter, undated and addressed to himself and signed by "Cruz", advising him of the charges againstIden D.González told L/3 that the letter was from FAR headquarters and was received some time beforeIden Dand L/3 left on their trip.

4. González then went on to say that he and his friends were not at all certain thatIden Dhad been executed,as L/3 and many other people assumed. He stated that some months ago Iden D mother in Mexico City had received a letter from him informing her that he was then at Salamá (phon). González added that it was not to be excluded thatIden Dhad made some sort of deal with the authorities to save his skin in exchange for services he might perform against Far in the future.

5. González then cautioned L/3 against indiscriminate contacts with persons

representing themselves to be from legitimate "revolutionary" movements. González recounted that he himself ~~had~~ to go into hiding for the previous two months as a result of his having been exposed to a certain Nuñez who had arrived in Mexico City with a group of Guatemalan exiles. González described Nuñez as a known member of the "Mano Blanca" and a former police officer ("tercero jefe de la Judicial").

6. González then asked L/3 whether he had made any close friends while in Guatemala. This, L/3 felt, was an attempt to smoke out his relationship with the Barrios brothers (Miguel and Juán Beón Barrios). He told Rowton that he evaded the issue by giving a vague reply, to which González replied: "Well, I hope to have a great surprise for you soon ('alegría')" González then suggested that they meet again on 12 December and promised to visit L/3 at his home in the company of his wife, "so that L/3's and his wife could keep each other company while they themselves were talking in L/3's apartment." L/3 told Rowton that he shot this idea down by explaining that although his wife was revolutionary and trustworthy, he preferred to keep any politicial discussions strictly between himself and González. The latter then suggested that he simply drop by L/3's house and that they both proceed somewhere for a coffee on a suitable pretext.

7. LIRING/3 described Humberto González Vega as a "rather tall" man (about 1.78) heavy (about 85-90 k.), apparent age 42, with light eyes ("ojos claros") and straight ("lacio") black hair. He drew Rowton the attached sketch for possible identification.

8. LIRING/3 agreed with Rowton that it was advisable for him to tell LIRING/9 at his next meeting of his contact with González Vega to provoke a reaction from the LIRING establishment.

Wallace B. Rowton

14-00000

HUMBERTO GONZÁLEZ VEGA

40-45 años
alto ~~1.68~~ 1.78
ojos claros
85-90 K.
pelo negro lacio



ATTACHMENT #1
HMMA-36114

11 December, 1968

Subject: LIRING/3 Report of Contact with LIRING/9 and LIRING/10.

1. LIRING/3 reported to Rowton at 1300 on 10 December, 1968, that he had finally succeeded in talking again with LIRING/9. He related that when he went/the LIRING office as requested at about 1030 on 9/12/68 he was told by the receptionist that LIRING/9 was still out. L/3 was asked to telephone later, about 1300, to check whether L/9 had returned. LIRING/3 telephoned, as requested, a little after 1300 (in Rowton's presence) but was told that LIRING/9 had not returned. L/3 left a message for L/9 that he would come to his office again the following morning.

2. LIRING/3 continued that he reappeared at the LIRING office about the same time the next day (10/12/68) and was told this time by the receptionist (the wife of LIRING/10's assistant) that LIRING/9 was in. At this moment LIRING/9 himself emerged from his office with papers in his hand, winked at LIRING/3, and returned without addressing him. A few minutes later L/3 was told by the receptionist that L/9 would see him. The following is Rowton's reconstruction of the conversation that took place between LIRING/3 and LIRING/9, based on L/3's report to Rowton:

L/9: "Come in. I'm sorry I couldn't see you Friday or yesterday. I was out of town."

L/3: "It's alright with me, except that I have a number of things pending as far as my own plans are concerned."

L/9: "Well, how are you doing?"

L/3: "Fairly well. I just received a letter from my good friend, Prof. Carlo Antonio Castro of the University of Veracruz. He has been insisting that I go down to Jalapa to see him. He wants to organize an exposition and also to offer me an interesting position at the University."

L/9: "But would that mean that you would have to stay in Jalapa?"

L/3: "Yes, of course; that is, if I accept. It's a tempting solution to my personal problems. As I told you I'm still "up in the air'."

L/9: "But I don't think that's the solution. A trip would be much better."

L/3: "Yes, but I have to make a decision soon. Also my wife received a letter from her father inviting her to New York. Here's the letter. Do you want to read it?"

L/9: "No. What does it say?"

L/3: "Her father says that he can give her medical certificates to prove he is very sick so that she can get a visa without any

difficulty."

L/9: "But as I said before, she shouldn't go to the American Embassy. Keep her away from it. That would be bad, as I explained last time."

L/3: "I'm doing my best, but it's not easy. Things are still up xx in the air with us."

(At about this moment in the conversation, LIRING/10 entered the office, and, after greeting LIRING/9 rather perfunctorily, carried on the following conversation with LIRING/3:)

L/10: "How have you been?"

L/3: "Rather well, thanks?"

L/10: "And your wife? Is she recovering from the strain?"

L/3: "Just about. The nightmare is finally over and she feels better now."

L/10: "WEll I hope you'll come by here often - as often as you xlike. We enjoy chatting with you."

(After this brief exchange, LIRING/10 left the office.)

L/3: "By the way, how is your Chief doing? I'd like to drop in to express my appreciation for the interest he xxxxxx and his wife showed in helping my wife during my absence."

L/9: "Well, he's not doing too well."

L/3: "Oh, another thing. I finally met that Guatemalan 'Pavel' I mentioned in my report."

L/9: "Yes, how did it go?"

L/3: "His name is Humberto González Vega. He's been in Mexico for some time. A former activist in the PTG. You must know him."

L/9: "Yes.

L/3: "He wants to see me again on Thursday for a more detailed talk."

L/9: "Fine. Well, I hope you keep coming around to see us whenever you can."

3. LIRING/3 commented to Rowton that he felt that LIRING/10's intrusion had not been coincidental, and that L/9 had advised him of L/3's arrival before he himself received L/3 into his office.

Wallace B. Rowton

14-00000

ATTACHMENT #1
HMMA-36114

12 December,1968

Subject: LIRING/3 Receipt of Letter from Gustavo Colindres.

1. LIRING/3 repprtedto Rowton at 1700 on 12/12/68 that he had received a letter from Gustavo Colindres, a Guatemalan of about 40 years of age whom he had met in the Pavón prison in Guatemala City. LIRING/3 stated that Colindres is the uncle (mother's side) of the León Barrios brothers, although he does not have the same name of sra. Barrios. L/3 explained that they were born of different fathers. L/3 added that Colindres was imprisoned some 18 months ago for responsibility in an arms cache discovered in or near his home.

2. The following is Rowton's translation of the original letter which LIRING/3 gave Rowton for copying:

"I hope that when you arrived in your Mexico, you found only peace and satisfaction in being once again in the warmth of your home. Here on the farm we have missed you and felt badly at not hearing from the artist and the professor, and now that I have succeeded in obtaining your address, I am taking the liberty of dropping your a few lines. I want you both to keep abreast of what's going on at the old farm, even though we're still struggling to turn it over to new owners, but they haven't as yet agreed to the price. I guess I'll be the last to leave the ship, since I haven't a chance to get off. The lions are the next to leave their cage.'Lorenzana' left a month ago and the Queen left on the 2nd of December. Promise me that when you take a drink you'll toast the farm and the date that is approaching.

My best to your wife, kisses to your child.and my best wishes for your welfare. May this year of strange experiences engrave in your mind the memory of a friend.

Guat. 7/12/68

/s/ G.Colindres

Please send your correspondence to me in the name of my wife,Isabel Donis de Colindres, 5 av. y 7a Calle,lote 6-Manzana 26,Colonia Santa Marta, Zona 19,Guat.Cuidad,América Central. The address on the envelope is not correct.

3. LIRING/3 told Rowton he understood the "lions are next to leave their cage" to mean that the León Barrios brothers are soon to be released and that this letter is a signal to him to be on the alert for a contact from them in the near future. L/3 told Rowton that he intended to reply to this

letter at once,and to take the occasion to mention casually that he has met a Guatemalan in Mexico City by the name of Humberto González Vega who seems to know everyone there quite well. L/3 hopes that this will provoke some sort of comment from the León Barrios brothers wither directly or indirectly.

4. LIRING/3 stated that Gustavo Colindres, who is still in the Pavón prison, obviously smuggled out this letter through his wife who visits him regularly. L/3 commented that Colindres told him that he isa faithful FAR member, but refused to belong to the PTG, or even to accept the financial aid doled out at the Pavón prison by Francisco Corado,the PTG representative there.

Wallace B. Rowton

1P

SECRET

Separate Cover Attachment #3
HMMA-36114

MICROFILMED
JAN 6 1969
DOC. MICRO. SER.

Identity Sheet

Identity A: Suites Marne

Identity B: Salón de la Plastica Mexicana

Identity C: Sra. Lourdes GOMEZ L. de Chumacero

Identity D: Francisco FR LARA Barrios (201-832457)

SECRET

sk att 3
HMMA-36114

CS COPY

201-798301

ATTACHMENT #2
HMMA-36114

NOT SUITABLE FOR MICROFILM

Señor
Carlos Jurado [illegible]
Edificio Bandera 3-4 [illegible]
Av. Veracruz México D.F.

CORREO AEREO
VIA AIRMAIL

GUATEMALA CORREO AEREO 7c

RTE. [illegible] Barrios [illegible] Z. 2
Ciudad Guatemala C.A.

CORREOS [illegible] 1968 ADMON

sk att 2
HMMA-36114

CS COPY

201-798301

[illegible]:

Espero que al arribar a su México no hallan tenido otra cosa que solo tranquilidad y satisfacción de estar de nuevo en el calor familiar.

Hemos extrañado en la granja, el hermetismo del artista y el profesor, ya no supimos nada de Uds. y ya que conseguí su dirección, me tomo la libertad de dirigirle estas líneas, quiero que estén al día de las noticias de la granjita, aun seguimos luchando por dejarsela a nuevos dueños pero no han llegado al precio, yo creo que seré de los últimos en abandonar la nave, no tengo posibilidad para dejarla, ~~[illegible]~~ los Leones ya están próximos para dejar la jaula, Sanzana salió hace un mes, la Reynosa se fue el 2 del mes que tenemos, Providencia que al tomar una copa brinde por la finca y la fecha que se aproxima

Me saluda a la Señora, besos a la nena y reciban de mi la más sana intención por su bienestar, Que este año de experiencias extrañas esculpan en su mente el recuerdo de un amigo,

[illegible] 7/12/65

[signature]

Por favor su correspondencia a nombre de mi Esposa [illegible] de [illegible]
5av. y 2a. calle lote 6- Manzana 26 Colonia Santa Marta. Zona 14 Guatemala América Central

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING ACTION

MARKED FOR INDEXING

X NO INDEXING REQUIRED

ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING

MICROFILM

TO: Chief, WH Division

INFO.: Chief of Station, Guatemala City

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: PBRUMEN/LIRING-3 Report

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Action Required: FYI

References : A. HMMA-35905, 27 November 1968
B. MEXICO CITY-8228, 27 November 1968

Forwarded under separate cover are Xerox copies of the handwritten report prepared by LIRING-3 and given by him, per reference B, to LIRING-9. The report was written in two instalments, the first titled "Situacion General" and the second titled "Antecedentes" and various other notes.

Raymond A. Fradyn

for Willard C. CURTIS

Attachment:
Report, u/s/c

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/att - 2 copies)
2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/att - 1 copy)

S/c att: 1

CS COPY

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: HMMA - 36115

DATE: 27 December 1968

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

HQS FILE NUMBER: 201-798301

S/C att. 1
HMMA - 36115

201-798301

Situación General:

Durante los días que permanecí en la celda 4cc del 2º Cuerpo de policía tuve oportunidad de cambiar impresiones con Rolando Ortiz "Cebollita" sobre la situación general de Guatemala especialmente de FAR, por aquel entonces César Montes había sido destituido y se iniciaba una campaña de terrible represión por parte del gobierno; de acuerdo con las informaciones se desprende lo siguiente: La división entre PGT y FAR provocó una situación difícil pero algunos miembros del PGT renunciaron a éste y pasaron a las filas de FAR, aunque teóricamente el PGT dice apoyar la ~~[illegible]~~ lucha armada e incluso ~~[illegible]~~ disponer de contingentes en la montaña (¿Zona de Zacapa?) lo cierto es que provoca más la división y no apoya en lo más mínimo la línea de FAR esto es a grandes rasgos ya que los detalles son bien conocidos. En los últimos tiempos el PGT ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ trata de ahondar ~~[illegible]~~ más las divergencias. Como ejemplo doy la situación que presencié en Pavón, donde el representante del PGT trataba de ganar adeptos entre los presos pertenecientes a FAR

ofreciéndoles ayuda económica – insistiendo en que su línea (línea del FAR) era equivocada en muchos aspectos.

Al ser nombrado por Ñora Comandante General [illegible] se esperaba que el grupo 13 de noviembre se aglutinara. [illegible] [illegible] En teoría esta aglutinación se llevó a cabo, pero en la práctica se ha demostrado que este grupo sigue actuando por su cuenta anárquicamente.

Todas estas circunstancias: divisiones, falta de organización [illegible], falta de madurez ideológica etc. han traído por consecuencia un debilitamiento de la lucha armada en Guatemala. A esto contribuye el fortalecimiento cada vez mayor de las fuerzas represivas obra de los norteamericanos. Un ejército equipado con las armas más modernas asesorado y entrenado por ellos, controla cada vez más la situación en la montaña. La consecuencia de todo esto ha sido la intensificación de la guerrilla Urbana. Los jóvenes de FAR han tenido que bajar a la ciudad y hacen esfuerzos desesperados pero anárquicos para

efectuar acciones que muchas veces, muerte del Embajador Gordon Main por ejemplo, traen consecuencias negativas, ya que las fuerzas del Gobierno intensifican la represión acabando con cuadros valiosos y necesarios. En la montaña se han sufrido reveses muy grandes, la muerte de Nestor Valle, Efigenio, la de Camilo en la Ciudad etc. han debilitado aún más las acciones de FAR, pues las especiales circunstancias que hoy se viven en Guatemala impiden la rápida sustitución de estos cuadros. La falta de fondos para financiamiento es uno de los problemas mas grandes, pues actualmente el dinero tiene que conseguirse a base de asaltos a Empresas Comerciales, dando por resultado muchas veces, que por conseguir una cantidad pequeña han muerto varios revolucionarios.

En mis charlas con los hermanos de Leon Barrios se me hizo notar el sentido negativo que algunos aspectos de la ayuda cubana representa. Se criticó duramente a los cuadros que se formaban allá, pues según dicen, en las a veces largas estancias en Cuba se inadaptaban

a la realidad Guatemalteca, o pueda a su vuelta conflictos a veces serios. El ejemplo más concreto es el reciente caso de César Montes, destituido por no haberse incorporado a su realidad en el momento necesario.

En Guatemala existe un fuerte nacionalismo, por esto los jóvenes de FAR rechazan cierto tipo de ayuda procedente de Cuba; se habla mucho allí entre ellos de fracasos obtenidos por los cuadros formados allá y ~~[illegible]~~ de un supuesto ofrecimiento cubano de ayudarlos incluso con hombres.

Por ahora, hablando francamente, la lucha en Guatemala se ha debilitado. Los golpes sufridos han sido muchos y fuertes y es de extrema urgencia una reorganización ~~[illegible]~~

Uno de los más aspectos más necesarios para el desarrollo de la lucha armada

de Guatemala es una mayor comprensión
de la situación interna de ese país, y prestar
por lo consiguiente la ayuda más adecuada.
Es verdad que el ~~[illegible]~~ fortalecimiento de
esta lucha será a largo plazo, pero para ello
es necesario que la ayuda sea más efectiva
y realista, de acuerdo con las opiniones de
los hermanos de León Barros, elementos
jóvenes pero entusiastas y valiosos, ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ (ellos trabajan
~~[illegible]~~
uno en servicio de inteligencia, otro de abastecimientos)
Tengo que seguir trabajando ~~[illegible]~~-
~~[illegible]~~ con las FAR; la especial situación
de sacrificio, mis experiencias personales y
la confianza que ellos me depositan han
hecho que mantenga mis contactos, espe-
rando por estos días la llegada de una
persona muy responsable que me busca-
rá con el nombre de PAVEL, para seguir
trabajando en un sentido positivo.

~~El día 13 de abril de 1968 Francisco Galeote Sara Barrios (guatemalteco)~~

Antecedentes

En México y por conducto de Carlos Perzabal Arancel, establecí contacto con F. A. S. Barrios quien según se me informó, era guatemalteco, miembro FAR encargado de la propaganda en esta ciudad. Sara Barrios tenía necesidad de hacer un viaje a Guatemala, pero dada su situación de exilado político no podía abandonar el país en forma legal y por ese motivo se me pidió ayuda, ya que por tener conocimiento de la región sur del país y además un pequeño negocio establecido en San Cristóbal las Casas estaba la posibilidad de llevar a Sara Barrios hasta la Ciudad de Guatemala.

A través de varias pláticas tenidas con él, se llegó a la conclusión de que pudiéramos, además de realizar dicho viaje, hacer algunos movimientos que tuvieran por finalidad prestar una ayuda efectiva a las FAR.

Fue entonces que se elaboró un p^n, cuya reali-
zación quedaría sujeta a la aprobación de elemen-
tos directivos en Guatemala. Inicialmente este
plan consistía en el establecimiento de un ne-
gocio de impresiones en Honduras; es decir
estudiar las posibilidades en ese país para
montar una pequeña máquina de ofsett
para editar un Teleguía que pudiera servir
en otros países Centroamericanos inclusive
Guatemala. Lisa Barrios tenía conocimien-
tos de este tipo de negocio, ya que según
me informó, había trabajado antes en
varias compañías de publicidad. El
criterio principal de esto era el de colabo-
rar para obtener, por esos medios, ayuda
financiera para las FAR. Con esa inten-
ción y desde antes, yo había montado en
en San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas,
un negocio ~~paralelo~~ de impresiones
serigráficas con la razón social de
"EMARDEL de San Cristobal"

Para realizar el viaje se pensa-
ron en varias de las posibilidades más
seguras. La mejor, dada la seguridad
que proporcionaba, era conseguir

documentación mexicana para salir.
Para el efecto elaboré, con la mayor perfección
posible una credencial de maestro de la SEP,
ya que un documento de este tipo es suficiente
para obtener visado en la frontera.
En los últimos días antes de realizar dicho
viaje y ya teniendo todo preparado, Sara
Barrios me informó que Carlos Pérez Abal
y su esposa Teresa Posada querían acom-
pañarnos pues tenían motivos ~~[illegible]~~
para ir. Como la situación que esto plan-
teaba era difícil me opuse al viaje de
estas personas, pero Sara Barrios argumen-
tó que tenían necesidad de entrevistar
con motivos periodísticos a algunas perso-
nalidades en Guatemala. Las discusiones
al respecto se prolongaron varios días pues no
era conveniente mezclar dos tipos de trabajo
en un viaje que de por sí tenía sus riesgos; por
entonces surgieron varios inconvenientes que
fueron retrasando dicho viaje, uno de ellos fue
que Sara Barrios — ~~[illegible]~~ quien era el encargado
de la misión — se hirió accidentalmente la
mano con ~~[illegible]~~ una pistola calibre 25 al hacer

una práctica de tiro, y otro que por esta causa hubo necesidad de posponer la salida y buscar un medio más adecuado, por lo que se recurrió por mi parte a conseguir que una persona de confianza nos llevara en automovil. Dicha persona fue Raúl Moreno quien se prestó para hacerlo. Los detalles sobre todo esto son variados y obran en este informe, pero hay que hacer notar que hubo muchos incidentes y errores por parte de todos los que íbamos a participar en esa misión.

El 10 de abril de 1968 salimos de la Ciudad de México, Fco Adalberto Lara Barrios, Carlos Perzabal y un servidor Raúl Moreno, pues la señora Teresa Posada desistió del viaje debido a que estaba embarazada y se consideró peligroso para ella.

Durante el trayecto y a la altura de Matías Romero Oaxaca, debido a la alta velocidad a que conducía Moreno el automovil, sufrimos un aparatoso accidente que dejó seriamente dañado el automovil. Al llegar a Tuxtla Raúl Moreno habló por teléfono con su

familia para informar del accidente y
no dijo que le pedían volviera pues su padre
había sufrido un infarto cardiaco. Él todos
nosotros nos llevó hasta San Cristobal, desde
donde nosotros continuaríamos el viaje.

Carlos Perzabal llevaba consigo unas publi-
caciones de FAR impresas en la imprenta
del Dr. Manuel Marcué Pardiñas, las
que había ocultado entre las páginas de unas
revistas de modas, pero de un modo tan
visible que no creímos oportuno el que
las llevara. Al llegar a las oficinas de migración
Ciudad Cuauhtémoc en un taxi de alquiler
procedimos a documentarnos para el paso a
Guatemala. La credencial que se elaboró
para Lara Bamos funcionó perfectamente
y le fué dado un permiso para viajar en
Guatemala valido por tres meses. En ese lugar
y dado que no habíamos tenido dificultad
alguna y para no entorpecer nuestro movimien-
to, tanto Lara Bamos como yo le pedimos
a Perzabal que no llevara las revistas, a
lo que accedió depositándolas en una barraca
cerca de la frontera usada como letrina.

El paso se hizo sin dificultad apa-

siente, sólo que Sara Barrios debía obtener un permiso del Cónsul de Guatemala, trámite usual para todos los turistas. El Consulado de Guatemala que debería funcionar en Comitán o Cd. Cuauhtémoc, se encuentra por extrañas razones en la mesilla, dentro del territorio guatemalteco. Sara Barrios se puso muy tanto nervioso cuando acudimos al Cónsul para el permiso, mismo que éste extendió sin dificultad. No obstante pensamos que el nerviosismo de Sara Barrios le provocó alguna sospecha, misma ~~que le hayan habido~~ ~~con el chofer del Taxi quien pudo haberse hablado~~ que después confirmamos pues ~~el Cónsul~~ ~~o~~ las autoridades guatemaltecas (después de haber sido detenidos) nos mostraron las revistas donde Pezzabal había escondido las publicaciones de FAR, y que sólo pudieron haber sido obtenidas por el Cónsul quizá proporcionadas por el chofer del Taxi que nos llevó, ~~~~ y que tomamos en Comitán, ya que éste durante el trayecto nos habló de su amistad con el Cónsul y seguramente se pudo dar cuenta de que "algo sospechoso" dejó Pezzabal en la banca.

En la muelle, después de pasar la aduana
dónde se nos hizo una revisión superficial y don-
de estuvo presente el Cónsul, abordamos una
camioneta de pasajeros rumbo a Huehuetenan-
go, pero al ir en esta nos dimos cuenta que
este señor nos rebasó en su automóvil.

Al llegar a la garita de inspección en el
Campamento militar "EL CABLE" fuimos detenidos por e.
por indicaciones de dicho Cónsul quien tenía grado de quien ordenó
al oficial nos incomunicara. Antes de
bajar de la Camioneta y al darnos cuenta
de que había problema, Sara Barrio me
entregó una serie de documentos que llevaba
(pasaporte auténticos, cédula de identidad etc)
mismos que por fortuna pudimos desapa-
recer antes del registro que el oficial nos
practicó después, echándolos por entre las
hendeduras de la barraca prefabri-
cada donde nos encerraron.

Por desgracia al practicarsenos el
registro a Carlos Perzabal le fueron...
encontradas un par de botas soviéticas,
una entrevista inconclusa con Nestor Valle,
un carnet de la Universidad de la
Habana y otros documentos. A partir

de ese momento quedamos a disposición del
ejército suponiendo que seríamos asesinados.
Del Campamento el "Cable" fuimos
trasladados por la policía militar Ambu-
lante a otro Campamento en el poblado
de "Buenos aires" en el Depto. de Huehue-
tenango. El Transporte se hizo en un
Camión de Carga que nos llevó primero
a Huehuetenango donde Perzabal fue
brevemente interrogado por un Coronel
quien nos dijo que seríamos fusilados.
En el poblado de Buenos aires fuimos
interrogados y maltratados durante
Toda la noche, los interrogatorios fueron
hechos por separado. Al día siguiente
fuimos Trasladados a Guatemala en
un avión de las FAG # 540, quien
fue enviado por el ministro de la
Defensa, mismo que nos recibió en
el aeropuerto militar la noche del
día 14. Todavía dentro del avión, y ya
en el Campo, subió a bordo de este un

mantenerme con uniforme militar quien me preguntó de manera violenta si yo me llamaba "Efigenio".

Del aeropuerto militar fuimos trasladados al 2º Cuerpo de la policía (Pezarbala y yo en una camioneta, Sara en un jeep) donde fuimos incomunicados en las bartolinas de la celda Nº "400". Durante varias noches fuimos sometidos a ~~[illegible]~~ "interrogatorios". Queríamos dejar, a quienes íbamos a ver, eran ~~#~~ la preocupación que tenían. En la celda 400 estaban presos algunos miembros de las FAR, los hermanos de León Barrios (Juan José y Miguel, así como el conocido por "Cebollita", ~~[illegible]~~ acusado del atentado a la base militar de "los Cipresales" y miembro destacado de las FAR. A estos compañeros Sara Batres les informé con detalle de lo que nos había sucedido. El día 20 de abril pudimos ~~[illegible]~~ enviar clandestinamente a la prensa una nota escrita en una caja vacía de cigarros que publicó

el diario "EL GRAFICO" el día 21 de abril. Por este motivo fuimos visitados por el Cónsul de México al día siguiente, evitando así el primer intento de asesinato contra nosotros. Para Barrios para entonces había sido identificado ya como Guatemalteco.

Al hacerse pública nuestra detención las autoridades Guatemaltecas nos inventaron un delito "regando propaganda subversiva en las calles de la Ciudad" y fuimos consignados por esto a un Juzgado para ser sujetos a "un juicio".

El 26 de abril fuimos Trasladados al Campo de Concentración "Granja Penal Pavón" en una cuerda donde También iba el "Cebollita" y posiblemente para Barrios a quien dejamos de ver el día que fuimos consignados y Trasladados a la Crujía general. En el Camino a Pavón desapareció "Cebollita" a quien según el parte policiaco, "secuestraron sus compañeros" pero que fue

arrestado por la policía.

A la Granja Penal Pavón llegamos en compañía de los hermanos de León Barrios quienes fueron nuestros compañeros durante los meses que allí permanecimos y donde pude conocer más a fondo la realidad de Guatemala y establecer contactos para seguir trabajando posteriormente.

Durante esos meses (casi 7) tuve una estrecha comunicación con estos dos muchachos, quienes por sus condiciones, pudieron explicarme la verdadera situación de las FAR en relación con la situación general del país.

Es necesario hacer notar que en ese tiempo estaban recluidos allí 9 miembros del PGT esperando la sentencia de los Tribunales. El representante del grupo, <u>Fco</u> Corado era quien administraba los fondos que recibía para repartir entre los presos políticos, fondos de los cuales <u>no</u> aportó nunca nada a ningún miembro de las FAR. Cuando nosotros llegamos trató de "asimilarnos," pero cuando yo le

dije que no pertenecía a ningún partido
sino acuso de "Trotzkista" acusación que (fue el momento del rey)
motivó por parte de Perzabal (se me hiciera
una investigación en México por parte de
su señora esposa Teresa Losada.

Por su parte las FAR hicieron lo mismo
constatando que yo no pertenecía a ningún
grupo y terminando así con una si-
tuación molesta que se había generado.

A medida que pasó el tiempo fui
haciendo amistad personal con estos
muchachos para entonces no habían
pedido, para enviar a la dirección de FAR,
un informe a cada uno de nosotros de lo
que nos llevaron a Guatemala. De
manera franca y abierta quiero decir
que Carlos Perzabal (quien en muchas
circunstancias se portó bien) en este caso
ocultó los verdaderos motivos de nues-
tra detención. Por fortuna y gracias
a los informes que dio personalmente
Sara Barrios a las FAR [illegible]
por conducto del "Cebollita" y los

hermanos de León, esto y a el Comité Central.
Me veo obligado a mencionar esto, ya
que durante el tiempo que estuvimos
encarcelados, la ~~[illegible]~~ Sra. Teresa Posada
y la señora mamá de Renzafal así como
el Sr. Manuel Marcué Pardiñas,
propagaron falsos informes en contra de
mi esposa, haciéndola aparecer como
"delatora" agente de la CIA, etc. etc.; in-
fluidos seguramente para ocultar respon-
sabilidades y por problemas de índole
personal que nunca llegaron mezclar.
Así mismo quiero dejar bien claro que
por lo que a esto respecta estoy dispuesto
a deslindar responsabilidades frente
a ellos, si es que insisten en esa posición.

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impresiones con "CEBOLLITA"
(situación de FAR, sugestiones trabajo futuro etc)

fraccionalismo radical entre los diversos
grupos (PGT, 13 nov. FAR) motivo del fracciona-
lismo, rompimiento con el PGT, asimilación
del 13 de nov. Nombrando a Jon Sosa 1er
Comandante. Críticas buenas y malas
a Cuba, motivos de las críticas

falta de comprensión atribuida por las FAR a Cuba en los problemas internos de Guatemala; *indebido uso de los fondos proporcionados, etc. Critica a los cuadros formados en la Habana; quienes al regresar no se integraban a la realidad de las necesidades de las FAR.

Situación actual de FAR.

Anarquía, falta de organización, debilitamiento, elementos jóvenes con entusiasmo pero sin formación ideológica correcta y medios materiales. Un "profesional de FAR" percibe un promedio de Q40.00 al mes para su trabajo.

Fortalecimiento del Gobierno, expansión del Ejército con la ayuda de USA.

Debilitamiento de las guerrilla de montaña que obligan el trabajo en la ciudad (guerrillas urbanas) que motiva a y Terrorismo mi reg.

una represión cada vez más fuerte y contraproducente.

Pérdida de cuadros valiosos: Néstor Valle, Efigenio, "Cebollita" "el Barco, etc" debidas a falta de organización clandestina y al fortalecimiento de las fuerzas represivas.

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* Nacionalismo Guatemalteco que rechaza una ayuda directa en el sentido de participación activa por extranjeros, ellos no entienden por ese nacionalismo, que este tipo de ayuda es necesaria a veces para el desarrollo de la Rev. latinoamericana. Situación que no se planteó en mi caso gracias a la comprensión de la mentalidad guatemalteca por razones de ser chiapaneco y tener afinidades culturales de años con ellos.

Destitución de César Montes por motivo de haber estado mucho tiempo [illegible] y no integrarse a la lucha en el [illegible] momento necesario; impresión que se tiene en Guatemala de algunos elementos Guatemaltecos que hace tiempo viven en Cuba.

Situación General:

Durante los días que permanecí en la celda 40c del 1er Cuerpo de policía tuve oportunidad de cambiar impresiones con Rolando Ortiz "Cebollita" sobre la situación general de Guatemala especialmente de FAR, por aquel entonces César Montes no había sido destituido y se iniciaba una campaña de terrible represión por parte del gobierno; de acuerdo con las informaciones se desprende lo siguiente: La división entre PGT y FAR provocó una situación difícil pero algunos miembros del PGT renunciaron a este y pasaron a las filas de FAR, aunque teóricamente el PGT dice apoyar la lucha armada e incluso disponer de contingentes en la montaña (zona de Zacapa?) lo cierto es que provoca más la división y no apoya en lo más mínimo la línea de FAR esto es a grandes rasgos ya que los detalles son bien conocidos. En los últimos tiempos el PGT trata de ahondar más las divergencias. Como ejemplo doy la situación que presencié en Pavón, donde el representante del PGT trataba de ganar adeptos entre los presos pertenecientes a FAR

ofreciendoles ayuda económica e insistiendo en
que su línea (la de FAR) esa equivoca en
muchos aspectos.

Al ser nombrado Yon Sosa Comandante
General se esperaba que el grupo 13
de noviembre se aglutinara. En
teoría esta aglutinación se llevó a cabo, pero
en la práctica se ha demostrado que este
Grupo sigue actuando por su cuenta anár-
quicamente.

Todas estas circunstancias; divisiones, fal-
ta de organización, falta de madurez ideoló-
gica etc. han traído por consecuencia un
debilitamiento de la lucha armada en
Guatemala. A esto contribuye el fortale-
cimiento cada día mayor de las fuerzas re-
presivas obra de los norteamericanos. Un
ejército equipado con las armas más moder-
nas asesorado y entrenado por ellos, com-
plica cada vez más la situación en la
montaña. La consecuencia de todo esto
ha sido la intensificación de la Guerrilla
Urbana. Los jóvenes de FAR han tenido
que bajar a la ciudad y hacen esfuerzos
desesperados pero anárquicos para

efectuar acciones que muchas veces, muerte del Embajador y orden Main por ejemplo traen consecuencias negativas, ya que las fuerzas del gobierno intensifican la represión acabando con cuadros valiosos y necesarios. En la montaña se han sufrido reveses muy grandes, la muerte de Nestor Valle, Efigenio, la de Camilo en la ciudad etc. han debilitado aún mas las acciones de FAR, pues las especiales circunstancias que hoy se viven en Guatemala impiden la rápida sustitución de estos cuadros. La falta de fondos para financiamiento es uno de los problemas mas grandes, pues actualmente el dinero tiene que conseguirse a base de asaltos a empresas comerciales, dando por resultado muchas veces, que por conseguir una cantidad pequeña han muerto varios revolucionarios.

En mis charlas con los hermanos de Leon Barrios se me hizo notar el sentido negativo que algunos aspectos de la ayuda cubana representa. Se criticó duramente a los cuadros que se formaban allá, pues según dicen, en las a veces largas estancias en Cuba se inadaptaban

a la realidad Guatemalteca, o mandada a su vuelta conflictos a veces serios. El ejemplo más concreto es el reciente caso de César Montes, destituido por no haberse incorporado a su realidad en el momento necesario.

En Guatemala existe un fuerte nacionalismo, por esto los jóvenes de <u>FAR</u> rechazan cierto tipo de ayuda procedente de Cuba; se habla mucho entre ellos de fracasos obtenidos por los cuadros formados allá y ~~[illegible]~~ de un supuesto ofrecimiento Cubano de ayudarlos incluso con hombres.

Por ahora, hablando francamente, la lucha en Guatemala se ha debilitado. Los golpes sufridos han sido muchos y fuertes y es de extrema urgencia una reorganización ~~[illegible]~~

Uno de los más aspectos más necesarios para el desarrollo de la lucha armada

de Guatemala - es una mayor comprensión
de la situación interna de ese país, y prestar
por lo consiguiente la ayuda más adecuada.
Es verdad que el ~~[illegible]~~ fortalecimiento de
esta lucha será a largo plazo, pero para ello
es necesario que la ayuda sea más efectiva
y realista; de acuerdo con las opiniones de
los mexicanos de León Barros, elementos
jóvenes pero entusiastas y valiosos, ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ (ellos trabajan
~~[illegible]~~
mis en servicio de inteligencia, otro abastecimientos.
yo tengo que seguir trabajando ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ con las FAR, la especial situación
de Pacífico, mis experiencias personales y
la confianza que ellos me depositan han
hecho que mantenga mis contactos, espe-
rando por estos días la llegada de una
persona muy responsable que me busca-
rá con el nombre de PAVEL, para seguir
trabajando en un sentido positivo.

El día 13 de abril de 1968, Francisco Gallardo ... Sara Barrios (Guatemalteco).

Antecedentes

En México y por conducto de Carlos Perzabal Maravé, establecí contacto con F. A. S. Barrios quien según se me informó, era Guatemalteco, miembro de FAR encargado de la propaganda en esta ciudad. Sara Barrios tenía necesidad de hacer un viaje a Guatemala, pero dada su situación de exilado político no podía abandonar el país en forma legal y por ese motivo se me pidió ayuda, ya que por tener conocimiento de la región sur del país y además un pequeño negocio establecido en San Cristóbal las Casas estaba la posibilidad de llevar a Sara Barrios hasta la Ciudad de Guatemala.

A través de varias pláticas tenidas con él, se llegó a la conclusión de que probamos además de realizar dicho viaje, hacer algunos movimientos que tuvieran por finalidad prestar una ayuda efectiva a las FAR.

Fue entonces que se elaboró un plan, cuya realización quedaría sujeta a la aprobación de elementos directivos en Guatemala. Inicialmente este plan consistía en el establecimiento de un negocio de impresiones en Honduras, es decir estudiar las posibilidades en ese país para montar una pequeña máquina de offset para editar un Telegrama que pudiera servir en otros países Centroamericanos inclusive Guatemala. Sara Barrios tenía conocimientos de este tipo de negocio, ya que según me informó, había trabajado antes en varias compañías de publicidad. El motivo principal de esto era el de colaborar para obtener, por esos medios, ayuda financiera para las FAR. Con esa intención y desde antes, yo había montado en San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas, un negocio ~~similar~~ de impresiones serigráficas con la razón social de "EMARDEL de San Cristobal"

Para realizar el viaje se pensaron en varias de las posibilidades más seguras. La mejor, dada la seguridad que proporcionaba, era conseguir

documentacion mexicana para Sara B.
Para el efecto elaboré, con la mayor perfección posible una credencial de maestro de la SEP, ya que con documento de este tipo es suficiente para obtener visado en la frontera.

En los últimos días antes de realizar dicho viaje y ya teniendo todo preparado, Sara Barrios me informó que Carlos Pérez del Barrio y su esposa Teresa Posada querían acompañarnos pues tenían motivos ~~[illegible]~~ para ir. Como la situación que ésto planteaba era difícil me opuse al viaje de estas personas, pero Sara Barrios argumentó que tenían necesidad de entrevistar con motivos periodísticos a algunas personalidades en Guatemala. Las discusiones al respecto se prolongaron varios días pues no era conveniente mezclar dos tipos de trabajo en un viaje que de por sí tenía sus riesgos; por entonces surgieron varios inconvenientes que si fueron retrasando dicho viaje, uno de ellos fue que Sara Barrios — ~~[illegible]~~ quien era el encargado de la misión — se hirió accidentalmente la pierna con ~~[illegible]~~ una pistola calibre 25 al hacer

para práctica de uso, y otro que por esta Causa
hubo necesidad de posponer la salida y buscar
un medio mas adecuado, por lo que se
encargó por mi parte a Conseguir que una persona
de Confianza nos llevara en automovil para
dicha persona fue Raúl Moreno quien se prestó:
para hacerlo. Los detalles sobre Todo esto son
variados y obvian en este informe, pero hay
que hacer notar que hubo muchos incidentes
y errores por parte de Todos los que ibamos
a participar en esa mision.

El 10 de abril de 1968 salimos de la
Ciudad de México, Fco Adalberto Lara Barrios,
Raúl Moreno, Carlos Perzabal y mi
servidor, pues la señora Teresa Losada desis-
tió del viaje debido a que estaba embarazada
y se consideró peligroso para ella.

Durante el Trayecto y a la altura
de Matías Romero Oaxaca, debido a la
alta velocidad a que Conducía Moreno
el automovil, sufrimos un aparatoso acci-
dente que dejó seriamente dañado el
automovil. Al llegar a Tuxtla Raúl
Moreno habló por Telefono con su

familia para informar del accidente y nos dijo que le pedían volviera pues su padre había sufrido un infarto cardiaco. De todos modos nos llevó hasta San Cristobal, desde donde nosotros continuaríamos el viaje.

Carlos Pizabal llevaba consigo unas publicaciones de TAR impresas en la imprenta del Dr. Manuel Marcué Pardiñas, las que había ocultado entre las páginas de unas revistas de modas, pero de un modo tan visible que no creímos oportuno que las llevara. Al llegar a las ~~afueras~~ afueras de Ciudad Cuauhtémoc en un Taxi de alquiler procedimos a documentarnos para el paso a Guatemala. La credencial que se elaboró para Lara Bamos funcionó perfectamente y le fué dado un permiso para viajar en Guatemala valido por tres meses. En ese lugar y dado que no habíamos tenido dificultad alguna y para no entorpecer nuestro movimiento, tanto Lara Bamos como yo le pedimos a Pizabal que no llevara las revistas, a lo que accedió depositándolas en una barraca cerca de la frontera usada como letrina.

El paso se hizo sin dificultad apa-

siente, sólo que Sara Barrios di a obtener
un permiso del Cónsul de Guatemala, trami-
te usual para todos los turistas. El Consulado
de Guatemala que deberá funcionar en Comitán
o Cdad. Cuauhtémoc, se encuentra por extrañas
razones en la Mesilla, dentro del Territorio
Guatemalteco. Sara Barrios se puso un
tanto nervioso cuando acudimos al Cónsul
para el permiso, aunque éste extendió
sin dificultad. No obstante pensamos que
el nerviosismo de Sara Barrios le provocó
alguna sospecha misma ~~que le hizo hablar~~
~~con el Chofer del Taxi quien pudo haberse dado~~ confirmamos pues ~~el Cónsul~~
~~Co~~ que después
~~fu~~ las autoridades guatemaltecas (después
de haber sido detenidos) nos mostraron
las revistas donde Pezal al había escondido
las publicaciones de FAR, y que sólo pudieron
haber sido obtenidas por el Cónsul quizá
proporcionadas por el Chofer del Taxi que
nos llevó, ~~[illegible]~~ y que tomamos en
Comitán, ya que éste durante el trayecto
nos habló de su amistad con el Cónsul
y seguramente se pudo dar cuenta de
que "algo" sospechoso dejó Pezal
en la barraca.

En la mañana, después de pasar la aduana donde se nos hizo una revisión superficial y donde estuvo presente el Cónsul, abordamos una camioneta de pasajeros rumbo a Huehuetenango pero al ir en ésta nos dimos cuenta que este señor nos rebasó en su automóvil.

Al llegar a la garita de inspección en el Campamento ~~militar~~ "EL CABLE" fuimos detenidos y guatemaltecos por indicaciones de dicho Cónsul quien ordenó al oficial nos incomunicara. Antes de bajar de la camioneta y al darnos cuenta de que había problema, Sara Barrios me entregó una serie de documentos que llevaba (pasaporte auténtico, cédula de vecindad etc) mismos que por fortuna pudimos desaparecer antes del registro que el oficial nos practicó después, echándolos por entre las ~~[illegible]~~ prefabricadas de la barraca ~~[illegible]~~ donde nos encerraron.

Cada ~~[illegible]~~ donde nos ~~[illegible]~~ el

Por desgracia al practicársenos el registro, a Carlos Perzabal le fueron encontradas un par de botas soviéticas, una entrevista inconclusa con Néstor Valle, ~~[illegible]~~ un carnet de la Universidad de la Habana y otros documentos. A partir

de ese momento quedamos a disposición del ejército suponiendo que seríamos asesinados.
Del Campamento el "Cable" fuimos trasladados por la policía militar Ambulante a otro Campamento en el poblado de "Buenos aires" en el Depto. de Huehuetenango. El Transporte se hizo en un Camión de Carga que nos llevó primero a Huehuetenango donde Perzabal fue brevemente interrogado por un Coronel quien nos dijo que seríamos fusilados.
En el poblado de Buenos aires fuimos interrogados y maltratados durante toda la noche, los interrogatorios fueron hechos por separado. Al día siguiente fuimos Trasladados a Guatemala en un avión de las FAG # 540, quien fue enviado por el ministro de la Defensa, mismo que nos recibió en el aeropuerto militar la noche del día 14. Todavía dentro del avión, aya en el Campo, subió a bordo de este un

norteamericano con uniforme militar quien me preguntó de manera violenta si yo me llamaba "Efigenio".

Del aeropuerto militar fuimos trasladados al 2º Cuerpo de la policía (Pezabalo y yo en una camioneta, para en un jeep) donde fuimos incomunicados en las bartolinas de la celda Nº "400". Durante varias noches fuimos sometidos a "interrogatorios". Quienes éramos, a que nos íbamos a ver, eran la preocupación que tenían. En la celda 400 estaban presos algunos miembros de las FAR, los hermanos de León Barrios (Juan José y Miguel, así como el conocido por "cebollita", acusado del atentado a la base militar de "los Cipresales" y miembro destacado de las FAR. A estos compañeros para Barrios informé con detalle de lo que nos había sucedido. El día 20 de abril pudimos enviar clandestinamente a la prensa una nota escrita en una caja vacía de cigarros que publicó

el diario "EL GRÁFICO" el día 21 de abril. Por este motivo fuimos visitados por el Cónsul de México al día siguiente, evitando así el primer intento de asesinato contra nosotros. Para Barrios para entonces había sido identificado ya como Guatemalteco.

Al hacerse pública nuestra detención las autoridades Guatemaltecas inventaron un delito "repartir propaganda subversiva en las calles de la Ciudad" y fuimos consignados por esto a un juzgado para ser sujetos a "un juicio".

El 26 de abril fuimos trasladados al campo de concentración "Granja Penal Pavón" en una cuerda donde también iba el "cebollita" y posiblemente para Barrios a quien dejamos de ver el día que fuimos consignados y trasladados a la cárcel general. En el camino a Pavón desapareció "cebollita" a quien según el parte policiaco, "secuestraron sus compañeros" pero que fue

asesinado por la policía.

En la Granja Penal Pavón llegamos en compañía de los hermanos de León Barrios quienes fueron nuestros compañeros durante los meses que allí permanecimos y donde pude conocer más a fondo la realidad de Guatemala y establecer contactos para seguir trabajando posteriormente.

Durante esos meses (casi 7) tuve una estrecha comunicación con estos dos muchachos, quienes por sus condiciones, pudieron explicarme la verdadera situación de las FAR en relación con la situación general del país.

Es necesario hacer notar que en ese tiempo estaban recluidos allí 9 miembros del PGT esperando la sentencia de los Tribunales. El representante del grupo, F<u>co</u> Coradg era quien administraba los fondos que recibía para repartir entre los presos políticos, fondos de los cuales <u>no</u> aportó nunca nada a ningún miembro de las FAR. Cuando nosotros llegamos trató de "asimilarnos", pero cuando yo le

dije que no pertenecía a ningún partido me acusó de "Trotzkista", acusación que motivó por parte de Perzabal (que es miembro del PGT) (se me hiciera una investigación en México por parte de su señora esposa Teresa Posada.

Por su parte las FAR hicieron lo mismo constatando que yo no pertenecía a ningún grupo y terminando así con una situación molesta que se había generado.

A medida que pasó el tiempo fui haciendo amistad personal con estos muchachos y para entonces no habían pedido, para enviar a la dirección de FAR, un informe a cada uno de nosotros de los motivos que nos llevaron a Guatemala. De manera franca y abierta quiero decir que Carlos Perzabal (quien en muchas circunstancias se portó bien) en este caso ocultó los verdaderos motivos de nuestra detención. Por fortuna y gracias a los informes que dio personalmente a las FAR para Barrio por conducto del "Cebollito" y los

hermanos de León, entonces el conocían.
me veo obligado a mencionar esto, ya
que durante el tiempo que estuvimos
encarcelados, la [illegible] Sra. Teresa Losada
y la señora mamá de Pergalal así como
el Sr. Manuel Marcué Pardiñas,
propagaron falsos informes en contra de
mi esposa, haciéndola aparecer como
"delatora" agente de la CIA, etc. etc; in-
fluidos seguramente para ocultar respon-
sabilidades y por problemas de índole
personal que nunca debieron mezclar.
Así mismo quiero dejar bien claro que
por lo que a esto respecta estoy dispuesto
a deslindar responsabilidades frente
a ellos, si es que insisten en esa posición.

---

impresiones con "CEBOLLITA"
(Situación de FAR, sugestiones trabajo futuro etc)

fraccionalismo radical entre los diversos
grupos (PGT, 13 nov. FAR) motivo del fraccio-
nalismo, rompimiento con el PGT, asimilación
del 13 de nov. Nombrando a Jorge Rosa 1er
Comandante. Críticas buenas y malas
a Cuba, motivos de las críticas.

falta de comprensión atribuida por las FAR a Cuba en los problemas internos de Guatemala;* indebido uso de los fondos proporcionados, etc. Crítica a los cuadros formados en la Habana, quienes al regresar no se integraban a la realidad de las necesidades de las FAR.

Situación actual de FAR.

anarquía, falta de organización, debilitamiento, elementos jóvenes con entusiasmo y formación ideológica correcta pero sin medios materiales. Un "profesional de FAR" percibe un promedio de q40.00 al mes para su trabajo.

Fortalecimiento del Gobierno, expansión del Ejército con la ayuda de USA.

Debilitamiento de las guerrillas de montaña que obligan el trabajo en la ciudad (guerrillas urbanas y Terrorismo) que motiva a su vez una represión cada vez más fuerte y contraproducente.

Pérdida de cuadros valiosos: "el Néstor Valle, Efigenio, "Cevallito" [illegible] Barco, etc." debidas a falta de organización de medios y al fortalecimiento de las fuerzas represivas.

---

* Nacionalismo Guatemalteco que rechaza una ayuda directa en el sentido de participación bélica por extranjeros, ellos no entienden por ese nacionalismo, que este tipo de ayuda es necesario a veces para el desarrollo de la Rev. latinoamericana. Situación que no se planteó en mi caso gracias a la comprensión de la mentalidad guatemalteca por razones de ser chiapaneco y tener afinidades culturales de años con ellos.

Ilustitución de César Montes por motivo de haber estado mucho tiempo fuera y no integrarse a la lucha en el momento necesario; impresión que se tiene en Guatemala de algunos elementos Guatemaltecos que hace tiempo viven en Cuba.

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING ACTION

MARKED FOR INDEXING

XX NO INDEXING REQUIRED

ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING

MICROFILM

TO: Chief of Station, Mexico City

INFO.: Chief, Western Hemisphere Division

FROM: Chief of Station, Guatemala City

SUBJECT: PERUMEN/LIRING-3 Operation

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

ACTION REQUIRED: For Mexico City, please see Paragraph 3

REFERENCES : A. HGMA-35905, 27 November 1968
B. HGMA-35904, 27 November 1968

1. Guatemala City has the following information on Oscar Moises ROLDAN Espinoza, who is undoubtedly identifiable with the Oscar Moises ROLDAN E. who sent one of the letters to LIRING-3 forwarded with Reference A: ROLDAN was arrested by the Guatemalan National Police on [illegible], along with one Oscar Rolando ESTRADA Aldana, after robbing a taxi driver of his car. In his interrogation by the Guatemalan authorities, ROLDAN admitted to being a member of the Rebel Armed Forces (FAR). He stated that the car was to have been used for a kidnapping, but he refused to name the target of the planned kidnap attempt. (Note: ROLDAN named "CAMILO" (deceased FAR leader Carlos Francisco ORDONEZ Monteagudo), "ARMANDO" (unidentified FAR Urban Resistance leader), "JAIME" (Luis Felipe CARVAJAL, FAR Urban Resistance leader) and Percy Amilcar JACOBS de Leon, among others, as FAR members with whom he was in contact. This would tend to indicate that ROLDAN was an important militant in the FAR Urban Resistance Front.) According to information available to the Station, ROLDAN was consigned to the courts. He apparently was later sent to El Pavon prison, where he met LIRING-3.

2. A check of the files of Miguel and Juan Jose de LEON Barrios shows that the home address given by them to the police was the same as the return address on the letter sent to LIRING-3 by "Marta," the mother of the de LEON brothers.

Distribution:
2-COS, Mexico City
2-C/WHD

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DEC 17 1968

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: HGGA-9697

DATE: 13 December 1968

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

HQS FILE NUMBER: 201-798301

[redacted]

CONTINUATION OF DISPATCH	CLASSIFICATION	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER
	SECRET	HCGA- 9697

3. Guatemala City notes in the letter which LIRING-3 received from the mother of the de LEON brothers reference to greetings being sent from "Miguel, Elsa, La Negra, La Chiquita, Felisa, Maria Elena, and La Gordita." It is requested that LIRING-3 be queried for any details he can provide to further identify these individuals and any information he knows as to the FAR roles of these individuals. Equally, it is requested that LIRING-3 be queried for similar information on ROLDAN, whom he apparently knew as "Espinoza." Finally, Guatemala City will be greatly interested in all of the information LIRING-3 can provide on "PAVEL," including a full physical description, if and when he is put in contact with this individual. Since "PAVEL" is supposed to be a "genuine FAR representative," he may well turn out to be "Javier Contreras," or the "MIGUEL" known to [illegible]-1.

4. Per Paragraph 3 of Reference B, Guatemala City feels that it would be best to wait until LIRING-3 received a clear idea of what, if any, role he is to be given by LIRING, before any further direct discussions are necessary between Guatemala and Mexico City. As discussed during TORMET's recent visit, Guatemala City's interests would be best served if LIRING-3 can convince his LIRING contacts that he is now ready to help in PBRUMEN's efforts to support the FAR, that because of his poor financial position he will in the future be forced to work in a controlled fashion for LIRING, and that because of the contacts which he established with FAR leaders during his Guatemalan imprisonment he is trusted by the FAR and therefore can be influential in helping achieve LIRING's ends in its dealings with the FAR. Also, once LIRING-3 has been put into direct contact with the FAR support network in Mexico City, as he has been promised, we should have a clearer idea to what extent the FAR itself plans to utilize LIRING-3.

5. Guatemala City awaits with interest the results of LIRING-3's further discussions with LIRING.

6. For Headquarters: A separate dispatch will be forwarded containing the information available to the Station on ROLDAN.

Leonard S. TORMET

FORM 8-64 53a USE PREVIOUS EDITION.	CLASSIFICATION	CONTINUED	PAGE NO.
	SECRET	☐	2 of 2

14-00000

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959

S E C R E T 121722 DEC 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8397

DIRECTOR INFO WH/MIAMI 12 DEC 68 IN 53169

PBRUMEN

1. PER LITAINT-2 LIRING-10 LEAVING DEFINITELY FOR PBRUMEN 20 DEC. HAVING "DESPEDIDA" 12 DEC WHICH LITAINT-2 SCHEDULED ATTEND. REPLACEMENT TO BE LIRING-24. REPLACEMENT CONFIRMED BY LIRING-3 TO WHOM LIRING -10 INTRODUCED LIRING-24 AS "MY SUCCESSOR."

2. FILE 201-759016, 201-776733.

S E C R E T

WH/ file:
LIRING-10
LIRING-24
LIRING-3 } 201

SECRET

Kuk

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET

PROCESSING ACTION: MARKED FOR INDEXING; X NO INDEXING REQUIRED; ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING; MICROFILM

TO: Chief, WH Division

INFO.: Chief, Finance

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: Transmittal of MOC for LIRING-3

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Action Required: FYI

Forwarded herewith is a Memorandum of Oral Commitments for LIRING-3.

Raymond A. Frazier

for Willard C. CURTIS

Attachment:
MOC (1), h/w

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/att - 2 copies)
2 - C/FINANCE (w/att - 1 copy)

1 - h/w Att.

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CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
	HMMA - 35908	29 November 1968
	CLASSIFICATION: SECRET	HQS FILE NUMBER: 201-798301

14-00000

SECRET

MEMORANDUM OF ORAL COMMITMENTS

Attachment HMMA-35904

Date 29 November 1968

TO : Chief, Finance Division
VIA : Contract Approving Officer
FROM : Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: Engagement of LIRING-3 as Independent Contractor

1. TERM AND PROJECT CHARGE: The Subject individual has been engaged under oral contract for use under Project LIRAVINE and is chargeable to LIRAVINE. The effective date of the oral contract is 1 December 1968 subject to termination by ODYOKE upon 30 days' actual notice.

2. SECURITY APPROVAL: The appropriate security approval for subject's use has been terminated. Type________. Date________196___.

320
12
640
320

3. CITIZENSHIP: Subject (XX) is ( ) is not a foreign national.

4. COMPENSATION: The Subject will be paid 4,000 per month. The approximate equivalent of this amount in PBPRIME currency is 320.00 dollars. Subject ( ) will (XX) will not receive a Christmas bonus equivalent to ________. Other compensations in the nature of bonus commitments, gifts, paid vacations, etc., include: None

5. TAXES: Subject ( ) is (X) is not subject to PBPRIME income taxes. If subject to PBPRIME income taxes, payments and/or deductions will be made in the following manner:

6. QUARTERS AND/OR SUBSISTENCE: (a) Subject ( ) will (x) will not be furnished quarters and/or subsistence allowances. (b) The following commitments have been made regarding additional compensation to accommodate increase of cost-of-living and quarters expenses:

7. OPERATIONAL EXPENSES: (a) Subject (x) will ( ) will not be reimbursed for operational travel. (b) Subject (x) will ( ) will not be reimbursed for operational expenses. State nature of any operational expenses for which Subject will be reimbursed: operational entertainment, inducement payments, cover expenses.

8. CONTINGENT OBLIGATIONS: The following have not been promised the individual but may have to be met by ODYOKE. Give reason for each contingent obligation:

9. No commitments other than those stated above have been made to the Subject.

SIGNED Wallace B. ROWTON
CASE OFFICER

APPROVED Willard C. CURTIS
Field Contracting Office (COS)

REVIEWED: [signature]
Contract Approving Officer
Jan. 7, 1969

REVIEWED: [signature]
Special Contracting Officer

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INFO. Chief, Finance		ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING
FROM Chief of Station, Mexico City		MICROFILM
SUBJECT Transmittal of MOC for LIRING-3		

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

CAAS

Action Required: FYI

Forwarded herewith is a Memorandum of Oral Commitments for LIRING-3.

for Willard C. CURTIS

Attachment:
MOC (1), h/w

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31 DEC 1968

CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
	HMMA - 35908	29 November 1968
	CLASSIFICATION SECRET	HQS FILE NUMBER 201-798301

14-00000

S E C R E T

Attachment
HMMA-35908

MEMORANDUM OF ORAL COMMITMENTS

Date 29 November 1968

TO : Chief, Finance Division
VIA : Contract Approving Officer
FROM : Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: Engagement of LIRING-3 as Independent Contractor

1. TERM AND PROJECT CHARGE: The Subject individual has been engaged under oral contract for use under Project LIRAVINE and is chargeable to LIRAVINE. The effective date of the oral contract is 1 December 1968 subject to termination by ODYOKE upon 30 days' actual notice.

2. SECURITY APPROVAL: The appropriate security approval for subject's use has been terminated. Type________. Date________196___.

3. CITIZENSHIP: Subject (xx) is ( ) is not a foreign national.

4. COMPENSATION: The Subject will be paid 4,000 per month. The approximate equivalent of this amount in PBPRIME currency is 320.00 dollars. Subject ( ) will (XX) will not receive a Christmas bonus equivalent to ________. Other compensations in the nature of bonus commitments, gifts, paid vacations, etc., include: None

5. TAXES: Subject ( ) is (X) is not subject to PBPRIME income taxes. If subject to PBPRIME income taxes, payments and/or deductions will be made in the following manner:

6. QUARTERS AND/OR SUBSISTENCE: (a) Subject ( ) will (x) will not be furnished quarters and/or subsistence allowances. (b) The following commitments have been made regarding additional compensation to accommodate increase of cost-of-living and quarters expenses:

7. OPERATIONAL EXPENSES: (a) Subject (x) will ( ) will not be reimbursed for operational travel. (b) Subject (x) will ( ) will not be reimbursed for operational expenses. State nature of any operational expenses for which Subject will be reimbursed: operational entertainment, inducement payments, cover expenses.

8. CONTINGENT OBLIGATIONS: The following have not been promised the individual but may have to be met by ODYOKE. Give reason for each contingent obligation:

9. No commitments other than those stated above have been made to the subject.

SIGNED Wallace B. ROWTON
CASE OFFICER

APPROVED Willard C. CURTIS
Field Contracting Office (CCS)

REVIEWED: ____________
Contract Approving Officer

REVIEWED:
/s/ Rogers C. Brooks
Special Contracting Officer

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TO: Chief, WH Division

INFO.

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: PBRUMEN/LIRING-3
Transmittal of Cuban "Literary" Pamphlet

MICROFILMED DEC 12 1968 DOC. MICRO. SER.

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Action Required: FYI

1. Forwarded under separate cover is an issue of a supposedly "literary" Cuban publication containing two short essays by the Salvadorian poet and writer Roque DALTON. The first of these essays is dedicated to LIRING-3. The interesting thing is that LIRING-3 was at that time imprisoned in Guatemala. The essay may thus be viewed as a tribute to "a suffering supporter of the cause."

2. Roque DALTON (201-215097) is, according to the files of the Station, an agent of the Cuban Intelligence Service engaged in clandestine activities for the Communist Party of El Salvador. DALTON spent some time in Czechoslovakia and is now living in Cuba. He is the brother of Margarita DALTON (201-751261), whom the Cuban IS recruited to work in Mexico. LIRING-3 got to know DALTON in Havana in 1962-63 and became a close friend of his (see HMMA-32283, 19 June 1967). DALTON at one point confided to LIRING-3 that he had been approached by WOFIRM while incarcerated in El Salvador.

3. The Station is hoping that DALTON's essay is an indication that LIRING-3 is going to be viewed by the Cubans in much better light after his incarceration in Guatemala. A report of LIRING-3's complete debriefing by ROWTON was forwarded with HMMA-35904, 27 November 1968.

for Willard C. CURTIS

Attachment:
Magazine (1), u/s/c

Distribution:
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CROSS REFERENCE TO: 201-215097, 201-751261

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: HMMA - 35915

DATE: 29 November 1968

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TO : Chief, WH Division

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

Separate Cover Attachment to
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RC-10

Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez • Alberto Moravia • Jacques Charriere • Charles Bettelheim • Roque Dalton • José Lezama Lima • Cmdte. Jorge Serguera

este número:

La industria azucarera analizada dentro del contexto histórico de Cuba, es el tema del trabajo PROMETEO ROMPE UNA CADENA del Comandante Jorge Serguera • QUE ES LA PRAXIS? de Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez, capítulo de su libro **Filosofía de la Praxis**, editado en México. Sánchez Vázquez es profesor de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Autónoma de México y autor de diversos trabajos filosóficos: Marxismo y Existencialismo, Las ideas estéticas de Marx, etc., este último libro ha sido publicado en Cuba por el Instituto del Libro • BASE ECONOMICA Y SUPERESTRUCTURAS IDEOLOGICAS de los economistas franceses Charles Bettelheim y Jacques Charriere, este trabajo forma parte del libro La construcción del Socialismo en China, publicado en México por la editorial ERA • LA PALMA DE LA MANO, poema del cubano José Lezama Lima (Dador, Versos Orficos, Paradiso). Lezama Lima trabaja en el Instituto de Literatura y Lingüística de la Academia de Ciencias • LA CASA DE CARLOS y PRIMAVERA EN JEVANI, textos del poeta salvadoreño Roque Dalton (El turno del ofendido poesía) • DEBATE, entre el escritor Alberto Moravia y cinco estudiantes italianos. Este debate fue organizado por L'Espresso de Roma, y en él se ponen de manifiesto las contradicciones existentes entre la actual generación de intelectuales y la anterior, de la que forma parte el escritor Moravia.

RC
REVOLUCION Y CULTURA

REVISTA BIMENSUAL
Año 1 **Número 10**
Mayo 15 de 1968
"Año del Guerrillero Heroico"
Director: Lisandro Otero
Secretaria de Redacción:
Rebeca Chávez

Impresa por el Instituto del Libro,
Unidad Productora Nº 11.
La Habana, Cuba
Telf.: 80 3020
Territorio Libre de América

Precio por ejemplar: 20 ctvs.

Prometeo rompe una cadena

Cmdte. Jorge Serguera

Cuando aquel aparato comenzó con su ruido atronador a echar paja por detrás, caña en trozos por el costado izquierdo, humo por arriba y cortaba hojas verdes y cogollo, alante, hacia la izquierda; alguien dijo: ¡Es bárbaro! Se había realizado un sueño que tenía 100 años. Parece que le va a llegar la hora de museo al machete. Pero todavía falta; ahora hay que construir muchas y sobre todo mejorarla. Hay que patentarla para que todo el mundo pueda usarla y uno solo no se enriquezca con el trabajo de todos: la patente revolucionaria.

La esclavitud fue sustituida por el colonato. Una especie de servidumbre que se hizo tan común en nuestro país que cualquiera se hubiese asombrado de que así no fuese. Cuando el precio aumentaba en el mercado mundial la alegría del cubano hacía carnaval y se enfrentaba a una danza de millones. Cuando bajaba el precio del azúcar la tasa de crecimiento de muertes aumentaba por vía del suicidio como ocurrió en 1930 1932. Si había paz entre naciones poderosas había crisis económica en Cuba, si había guerra, prosperidad. Así fácilmente puede inferirse que la base del progreso estaba en la guerra. Teoría muy común en el pasado. Cuando el precio era bajo había la esperanza del aumento. Cuando era alto el temor de que bajara. Así la mentalidad azucarera del pueblo a causa del monocultivo, o como técnicamente dicen, economía unilineal, era inestable. Y si se tiene en cuenta además la historia de los últimos 60 años, sus convulsiones, guerras, etc., el desequilibrio económico tenía que ser factor de angustias y alegrías, esperanzas y desilusiones que gravaban hondamente el pensamiento del pueblo. Cualquier oscilación de precio se sentía desde el último bohío hasta la primera residencia. Claro está que en forma muy diferente.

No obstante saber todo el mundo o decir que el problema era el monocultivo y que había que diversificar los cultivos para liberarse de la dependencia de un producto, sobre todo después de la crisis económica de los años 30, no se hizo; porque el uso de las máquinas cortadoras, para realizar la más dura de todas las operaciones de recolección "no se permite en Cuba donde hay superexistencia de mano de obra y las leyes sociales vigentes hacen su uso extremadamente difícil" (carta de Agregado Agrícola de los Estados Unidos, La Habana, 16 de febrero de 1954). Y también porque "la mecanización en cualquier campo de actividad humana incluyendo la agricultura, no debe ser llevada demasiado lejos si ha de amargar a los hombres que aman la tierra, la libertad y la dignidad personal". Por eso en la Unión Soviética, donde la mecanización sobrepasa incluso la agroindustrialización, de la producción cubana del azúcar, se dice que los campesinos "tararean canciones de protesta aun a riesgo de ser castigados severamente" (Azúcar Amargo, Byron White, pág. 48).

Todos estos pretextos y otros, reflejos de una realidad social, de una contradicción insuperable en las condiciones en que se planteaba, caracterizó el período prerevolucionario. Era verdad que el 56% de la tierra cultivada era dedicada a caña. Que el cultivo era extensivo; pero sobre todo porque "una mecanización óptima y precipitada de los campos cañeros podría tener consecuencias caóticas, a menos de encontrar inmediatamente otros empleos para esa fuerza de trabajo". Byron White, pág. 50).

La Contradicción que sólo una Revolución podría resolver:

Cuba era un país de monocultivo. El 56% de la tierra cultivada era dedicada a caña. El producto de mayores dividendos, por vía de exportación, era el azúcar. El volumen de las importaciones estaba determinado por la cantidad de azúcar exportada. El desbalance podría ser resultado de la oscilación del precio en el mercado mundial. La específica o especial calidad del suelo cubano para el cultivo de la caña, más los bajos salarios de la mano de obra para el corte fueron determinantes en el análisis de la costeabilidad más baja de la producción azucarera cubana en comparación con Hawai y Louisiana, donde la mecanización agrícola del corte, alza y siembra pudieron haber determinado un costo más bajo en la producción, en la década del 40 al 50.

Con una población de más de 5 millones de habitantes entre los años 40 y 50, Cuba destinaba 500 000 al corte de caña o sea cerca del 10% de la población. Pero si se considera la población activa en edad de trabajo, los números varían escandalosamente.

Los propietarios necesitaban mano de obra, barata, y en cantidad para realizar la zafra. La recolección duraba cuatro meses. Los temporeros de zafra se convertían en desempleados cuando ésta terminaba. Mecanizar la industria azucarera podría significar un aumento de las utilidades por el bajo costo de producción que conllevaría; pero el desempleo aumentaría agravando una situación social cuyos resultados eran imprevisibles. Por otra parte, a nivel internacional, una disminución en costo de producción azucarera de Cuba, óptima en este caso, sería determinante del precio, por cuanto éste, lejos de venir determinado por la oferta y la demanda, es resultado de los promedios sociales de producción a nivel internacional. Esto hubiese provocado la quiebra en Hawai, Puerto Rico, Luisiana, etc. Y los norteamericanos, tutores y beneficiarios de la explotación neocolonial velaban por un cierto equilibrio en sus neocolonias. El desplazamiento de otros productores hubiese permitido una concurrencia privilegiada de Cuba en el mercado mundial. Este sueño dorado de los capitalistas cubanos fue cortado con un simple sistema de cuotas que la metrópoli norteamericana impuso, poniendo así paz entre los inquietos tutelados. Naturalmente que la medida determinó también un estancamiento económico.

Internamente, los obreros se oponían a todo lo que fuese mecanización porque esta acarrearía un desempleo en masa y no se veían, por no existir, posibilidades de opción en otros trabajos que no fuese la industria azucarera.

El sueño de industrializar y diversificar la agricultura del país no podía realizarse porque su estado de dependencia económica y neocolonial no se lo permitía. La política del comprador determinaba el producto. Para industrializar y diversificar hay que ser libres y los gobiernos cubanos eran dependientes de la metrópoli norteamericana que no había previsto en su planificación de obtención de beneficios estas aspiraciones. La importación de materias primas y la exportación de excedentes manufacturados es un privilegio de grandes y desarrollados. El chiquito que llegaba tarde a la mesa no podía sentarse a comer. Tenía que esperar a que los "grandes" terminasen; pero eran de una voracidad sin límites. Martí lo había previsto. "El pueblo que compra, manda. El pueblo que vende, sirve. Hay que equilibrar el comercio, para asegurar la libertad. El pueblo que quiere morir, vende a un solo pueblo; y el que quiere salvarse, vende a más de uno" (Obras completas, Vol. II, Tomo I, pág. 262).

La verdadera liberación se halla en esas palabras: La evolución tenía que resolver esa contradicción:

Una ley de desarrollo capitalista es que la acumulación se hace a expensas de la explotación, empobrecimiento y depauperación progresiva de los proletarios. Porque el valor de la fuerza de trabajo viene determinado por la posibilidad de reproducción de dicha fuerza. Al aplicar esta ley del desarrollo capitalista, la clase dominante obtiene beneficios a expensas de la clase obrera; pero en la interrelación de fuerzas y con el propio desarrollo del capitalismo, la dirección principal de la explotación en los países capitalistas, pasó de la clase obrera nacional a las colonias y neocolonias, sufriendo estas últimas el mayor rigor de la ley del valor y produciéndose la actual acumulación de capital de los países desarrollados a expensas de los subdesarrollados. Por eso mientras más desarrollados son unos, más atrasados son otros.

Esta contradicción: para poder desarrollarse hay que liberarse del explotador, se planteaba en Cuba de forma confusa, como un círculo vicioso. Para salir del monocultivo y dependencia económica de un producto hay que diversificar e industrializar y para lograr la industrialización y diversificación agrícola hay que liberar la fuerza de trabajo dedicada al azúcar a través de la mecanización cañera y para mecanizar hace falta la seguridad económica de que ésta rendirá utilidades.

El Círculo Vicioso:

a) Los obreros se oponían a la mecanización porque no existía otra alternativa de trabajo.

b) Los capitalistas no mecanizaban por la inseguridad del precio en el mercado mundial.
La mecanización debe habérsele presentado a algunos como una inversión dudosa. Por otra parte la mano de obra era barata y en grandes cantidades. El suelo tenía tales características que casi sin atención producía en condiciones explotables.

c) Hay un factor más complejo: La industria azucarera no tenía perspectivas a largo plazo; pero tampoco era desechable en lo inmediato por la rentabilidad que producía. Su futuro era incierto; pero su presente daba utilidades. Estas características, causas de inestabilidad, vacilaciones, crisis, alzas y bajas, lejos de provocar decisiones en una u otra dirección, mantuvo un estatismo en los propietarios y gobernantes. Tal parece que hubiesen esperado que un imponderable o el simple transcurso del tiempo resolviese una situación que a la par que les preocupaba, demostraban ineptitud para resolver.

d) Si el azúcar era la fuente principal de ingresos y acumulación, por tanto la base financiera del desarrollo debía ser ésta.

Problemas específicos:

a) 500.000 cortadores de caña. Representa el 10% del total de la población y cerca del 40% de la población en edad laboral.

b) El 50% de la tierra cultivada destinada a caña

c) La concentración de la caña: la única actividad productiva que podía permitir ingresos casi seguros, se encontraba distribuida entre un número relativamente bajo.

d) La repartición democrática de la fuerza de trabajo era, como las instalaciones azucareras, horizontal, es decir, a lo largo y ancho de la isla. Concentrar las instalaciones azucareras en tierras de mayor productividad y acorde con las instalaciones de mayor capacidad, suponía también la concentración de la mano de obra.

Las dos fuentes de riquezas principales de Cuba, suelo y Mano de Obra, quedaron supeditados a un monocultivo cuyo futuro era incierto.

Pudieron haber arriesgado la diversificación e industrialización del país no tanto con las probabilidades de ganancia de un producto inseguro, sino con la realidad de un suelo rico y una fuerza de trabajo apta, pero por ineptitud y conformismo unidos a las presiones y tutela de los Estados Unidos no encararon con resolución un proceso dinámico que su visión estrecha les hacía aparecer estático.

El simple transcurso del tiempo con dos consecuencias inevitables, una social y otra económica (crecimiento de la población y concentración de capital), en las condiciones de la economía cubana, conducía a una crisis del sistema imperante: la Revolución fue la respuesta. Allí donde la burguesía en su doble condición de propietaria y gobernante demostró incapacidad y vaciló, la Revolución tenía que superarla. La Revolución heredó los problemas que no habían sido encarados y las contradicciones que no habían sido resueltas.

Las soluciones que algunos escritores progresistas, estudiosos o economistas planteaban a los graves problemas de la economía nacional, no sólo resultaban con el tiempo meros paliativos que solamente lograban la dilación de la crisis e irresolución de los problemas, sino que resultaban reformas impracticables por las contradicciones que a su vez creaban. Véase a modo de ejemplo el apéndice No. 5 de José Antonio Guerra, de fecha 28 de septiembre de 1942. También algunas conclusiones de Lyton White en "Azúcar Amargo", pág. 178 y siguientes.

Pero la Revolución no solamente heredó problemas y contradicciones, sino que por su sola presencia y naturaleza del proceso como otros problemas y contradicciones que se vieron agudizados tanto por la agresividad que desde el primer momento desarrollaron los imperialistas estadounidenses como por la ignorancia y falta de madurez del pueblo, quien permeado por las ideas fáciles del pasado creía que con la simple nacionalización de la industria azucarera y otros sectores podían superarse los problemas. La distribución de la riqueza, acumulada por la burguesía hasta entonces, no hubiese servido para sobrevivir más que pocos años y además de ser utópica hubiese enajenado el desarrollo industrial del país. Por otra parte, el capital acumulado no bastaba para financiar una diversificación agrícola ni instalaciones industriales. También el mercado seguro que los Estados Unidos representaba para las exportaciones azucareras y las importaciones, tanto de alimentos, artículos de lujo y piezas de repuesto, desaparecía. La seguridad que la burguesía aceptaba, a precio de angustia e incertidumbre, esta seguridad relativa, desaparecía con la Revolución.

Esta era resultado de una contradicción que en el plano de las relaciones internacionales, bilaterales y casi exclusivas entre Cuba y los Estados Unidos, los últimos llevaban la mejor parte. El desarrollo económico tenía que haberlo encarado la burguesía cubana a pesar de los Estados Unidos. Desarrollar si se quiere una concepción nacionalista, chauvinista, de independencia económica, pero su concepción de fatalismo geográfico, sus temores y balbuceos le impidieron realizar una política para la que hacía falta, además de coraje, inteligencia. De una parte la naturaleza del imperialismo se revela incapaz para conceder reformas y por otra, es una característica sui generis de las burguesías nacionales latinoamericanas, su temor a rebelarse contra los tutores de una política y economía que por su poder y rapacidad les infunde temor. En el caso de latinoamérica no es tanto que no haya cristalizado una conciencia nacional burguesa, sino que la existencia de esta clase tiene una conciencia de dependencia de Estados Unidos que la incapacita en este período histórico para ver la posibilidad de una existencia independiente.

Con el triunfo de la Revolución, los burgueses y pequeños burgueses abandonaron Cuba, no solamente por las intervenciones revolucionarias, sino también por la convicción que tenían de que no podía mantenerse un gobierno que aplicase una política no sólo a pesar de los Estados Unidos, sino contra los intereses y objetivos de los Estados Unidos. Habían sido muy dependientes y cobardes. Desarrollaron y aceptaron como incuestionables, conceptos que elevaron a categorías de axiomas políticos, sin percatarse que eran el reflejo de una ideología y creencias temerosas: "Sin azúcar no hay País". "El pueblo cubano es haragán", "Cuba está muy cerca de los Estados Unidos para hacer lo que le plazca", etcétera.

Si al gobierno de los Estados Unidos y a las burguesías latinoamericanas causó asombro y estupefacción la proclamación socialista de la Revolución cubana, en los cobardes burgueses y pequeños burgueses, así como en los cubanos en Miami, el origen del asombro no era tanto económico, sino que provenía del hecho de que se mantuviese la Revolución. La cobardía jamás concibe otras soluciones que las ya experimentadas. Para ellos las reformas eran difíciles, casi utópicas. ¡Una Revolución, imposible!

Los soviéticos y demás países socialistas ofrecieron mercado para el azúcar.

Las inversiones económicas para el desarrollo de la industria que la lógica priorizaba, se vieron obstaculizadas por el bloqueo impuesto por los norteamericanos y por la necesidad de desarrollar un aparato militar fuerte y modernísimo, capaz de enfrentar tanto las agresiones, como las amenazas constantes que los Estados Unidos y gobiernos latinoamericanos realizaban.

Hoy la situación se plantea con agudeza. Para llevar adelante la diversificación agrícola o industrialización del país, hace falta mano de obra. Los cubanos en edad laboral somos unos 2 000 000 y el 30 por ciento está dedicado a la recolección azucarera.

Liberar esta fuerza de trabajo supone la posibilidad de dirigirla a otros sectores donde su productividad y desarrollo permita la acumulación de riquezas necesarias al despegue económico. Para esto hay que mecanizar la industria azucarera. La máquina que corte y alce liberará no sólo 500 000 cubanos, formidable fuerza de trabajo, sino que terminará por primera vez con el fatigoso corte de caña, uno de los trabajos más duros y violentos que en el planeta se conoce. El machete, símbolo de libertad y esfuerzo del cubano, también signo de dependencia y angustia, se convertirá en una pieza de museo.

Todavía por algunos años habrá que depender del monocultivo cañero, y del azúcar como producto principal de exportación. Esta prioridad azucarera es una de las razones que determina la imposibilidad de contar con mano de obra suficiente para desarrollar otros cultivos de manera intensa. Es posiblemente sólo en Cuba, donde se da el fenómeno de un equilibrio entre la densidad de población y las tierras cultivables, equilibrio en nuestro caso desfavorable al desarrollo económico, y que se ve causado o agravado por el predominio cañero.

Si en vez de 7 millones fuésemos 10 millones de cubanos el problema se plantearía en otros términos. Podría tal vez encararse la mecanización azucarera como paulatina y paralela al desarrollo de otros sectores; pero en nuestras condiciones la mecanización resulta un requisito sine qua non.

Pero la mecanización no sólo produce efectos económicos, sino que el más profundo es de carácter social. La verdadera liberación será de la fatigosa carga del corte manual.

Alguien ha dicho que el verdadero fin de la Revolución es una máquina cortadora, que cuando esto ocurra la Revolución habrá roto una de las cadenas más pesadas y difíciles.

Esto representará la liberación de una parte considerable de la población en edad laboral y romperá las barreras de una baja productividad cuyos resultados a mediano y largo plazo, son difíciles de prever. La industria azucarera sigue siendo incierta, en tanto existe la posibilidad de producir azúcar sintético; en condiciones económicas. Pero hasta tanto eso no ocurra, la industria azucarera de la caña, seguirá siendo la base de nuestro desarrollo económico, y en pocos años, descansando en las riquezas de nuestro suelo y en la fuerza de nuestro pueblo, la Revolución habrá resuelto las contradicciones y problemas que timoratos y vacilantes no supieron encarar con el valor y el coraje que le habían legado las tradiciones mambisas: el machete que sirvió para romper el nudo con España, sirve hoy también como garante exclusivo, por la mano que lo empuña, de un desarrollo económico en el que sin riesgo de ningún tipo pueden confiar todos los gobiernos y pueblos del mundo.

a) La combinada de corte y alza que vimos en la Básica del Cauto representa una ayuda inestimable al prolongado esfuerzo y sacrificio que hay que realizar en aras de una acumulación de riquezas para financiar tanto la industria como la diversificación agrícola.
b) Representa un incremento de la población en edad laboral.
c) Hará desaparecer una especie de sentimiento de culpabilidad que naturalmente tenemos que sentir todos respecto al obrero agrícola cortador.
d) La máquina de corte y alza constituye el primer eslabón de la Revolución Industrial necesaria a nuestro desarrollo y nuestra total liberación.

¿Que es la Praxis?

Adolfo Sánchez Vázquez

Actividad y praxis.

Toda praxis es actividad, pero no toda actividad es praxis. Al señalar Marx que el idealismo, en contraste con el materialismo, admite el lado activo de la relación sujeto-objeto, y al subrayar, a su vez, su defecto —no ver esta actividad como práctica—,[1] nos previene contra todo intento de establecer un signo de igualdad entre actividad y praxis. De ahí que para delimitar el contenido propio de esta última y su relación con otras actividades, sea preciso distinguir la praxis, como forma de actividad específica, de otras que pueden estar incluso íntimamente vinculadas a ella.

Por actividad en general, entendemos el acto o conjunto de actos en virtud de los cuales un sujeto activo (agente) modifica una materia prima dada.[2] Esta caracterización de la actividad justamente por su generalidad no especifica el tipo de agente (físico, biológico o humano) ni la naturaleza de la materia prima sobre la que actúa (cuerpo físico, ser vivo, vivencia psíquica, grupo, relación o institución social) ni determina tampoco la especie de actos (físicos, psíquicos, sociales) que conducen a cierta transformación. El resultado de la actividad, o sea, su producto se da asimismo, en niveles diversos: puede ser una nueva partícula, un concepto, un útil, una obra artística o un nuevo sistema social.

En este amplio sentido, actividad se opone a pasividad, y su esfera es la de la efectividad, no la de lo meramente posible. Agente es lo que obra, lo que actúa y no lo que está solamente en posibilidad o disponibilidad de actuar u obrar. Su actividad no es potencial, sino actual. Se da efectivamente sin que pueda ser separada del acto o conjunto de actos que la constituyen. La actividad muestra en las relaciones entre las partes y el todo los rasgos de una totalidad concreta. Varios actos desarticulados o yuxtapuestos casualmente no permiten hablar de actividad; es preciso que los actos singulares se articulen o estructuren, como elementos de un todo, o de un proceso total, que desemboca en la modificación de una materia prima. Por ello, a los actos del agente y a la materia sobre la cual se ejerce esta actividad, hay que agregar el resultado o producto que es esa materia misma ya transformada por el agente.

Nuestro concepto de actividad es lo suficientemente amplio para que englobe, por ejemplo: a un nivel físico, las relaciones nucleares de determinadas partículas que conducen a la transformación de unos elementos químicos en su conjunto, o la actividad de un órgano en particular; a un nivel psíquico, las actividades del hombre o del animal del tipo de la sensorial, refleja instintiva, etcétera; en este plano instintivo, la actividad puede manifestarse como una serie de actos tan complejos como el de la construcción de un nido por un pájaro, sin que por ello deje de ser una actividad meramente biológica, natural. El hombre también puede ser su-

jeto de actividades —biológicas o instintivas— que no rebasan su nivel meramente natural y que, por tanto, no podemos considerarlas como específicamente humanas.

La actividad propiamente humana sólo se da cuando los actos dirigidos a un objeto para transformarlo se inician con un resultado ideal, o fin, y terminan con un resultado o producto efectivos, reales. En este caso, los actos no sólo se hallan determinados causalmente por un estado anterior que se ha dado efectivamente —determinación del pasado por el presente—, sino por algo que no tiene una existencia efectiva aún y que, sin embargo, determina y regula los diferentes actos antes de desembocar en un resultado real; o sea, la determinación no viene del pasado, sino del futuro.

La adecuación a fines.

Este modo de articulación y determinación de los diferentes actos del proceso activo distinguen radicalmente la actividad específicamente humana de cualquier otra que se halle a un nivel meramente natural. Dicha actividad entraña la intervención de la conciencia gracias a la cual el resultado existe dos veces —y en tiempos distintos—, como resultado ideal y como producto real. El resultado real que se quiere obtener, existe primero idealmente, como mero producto de la conciencia, y los diferentes actos del proceso se articulan o estructuran conforme al resultado que se da primero en el tiempo, es decir, el resultado ideal. Por esta anticipación del resultado que se pretende obtener, la actividad propiamente humana tiene un carácter consciente. Lo característico de ella es que por mucho que diste el resultado real del ideal se trata, en todo caso, de adecuar intencionalmente el primero al segundo. Ello no significa que el resultado obtenido haya de ser forzosamente una mera duplicación real de un modelo ideal preexistente. No; la adecuación no tiene por qué ser perfecta. Puede asemejarse poco, e incluso nada, al fin originario, ya que éste sufre cambios, a veces radicales, en el proceso de su realización. Ahora bien, para que pueda hablarse de actividad humana basta que se plantee en ella un resultado ideal o fin a cumplir, como punto de partida, y una intención de adecuación, independientemente de cómo se plasme, en definitiva, el modelo ideal originario.

Esta inadecuación entre intención y resultado se pone de manifiesto tanto en la actividad de los individuos como en la propiamente social. Aquí, mientras los hombres no son conscientes de las leyes que rigen el proceso económico-social, la persecución de diferentes fines por los miembros de la sociedad da lugar a actividades diversas de los individuos o grupos sociales en los que dichos fines se contraponen, equilibran o se subordinan entre sí produciendo resultados que no concuerdan con sus intenciones o que se dan con independencia de éstas. Las relaciones de producción, por ejemplo, son relaciones que los hombres contraen independientemente de su voluntad y de su conciencia. Es decir, son producidas por los hombres como productos suyos inintencionales.[3] El progreso histórico se caracterizará, entre otras cosas, por una superación de esta inintencionalidad. Los hombres que en el pasado produjeron inintencionalmente la esclavitud, el feudalismo y el capitalismo se proponen hoy, conscientemente, la destrucción de las relaciones capitalistas de producción y la instauración del socialismo. Pero aunque la historia humana registra resultados que nadie ha querido, esta inintencionalidad no es sino la forma que socialmente adopta el resultado de la actividad desplegada por los individuos como seres sociales que actúan conscientemente.[4] Volveremos más adelante (en el capítulo V) sobre esta cuestión.

La actividad humana es, por tanto, actividad conforme a fines, y éstos sólo existen por el hombre, como productos de su conciencia. Toda acción verdaderamente humana exige cierta conciencia de un fin, el cual se supedita al curso de la actividad misma.

El fin es, a su vez, la expresión de cierta actitud del sujeto ante la realidad. Por el hecho de trazarme un fin, adopto cierta posición ante ella. Quien se propone realizar un viaje, construir una silla, pintar un cuadro o transformar un régimen social, muestra determinada actitud ante una situación real, presente. Si el hombre viviera en plena armonía con la realidad, o en total conciliación con su presente, no sentiría la necesidad de negarlos idealmente ni de configurar en su conciencia una realidad inexistente aún. Carece de sentido, en verdad, proponerse un fin ya alcanzado, o un resultado obtenido. El fin prefigura idealmente lo que aún no se logra alcanzar. Por el hecho de trazarse fines, el hombre niega una realidad efectiva, y afirma otra que no existe todavía. Pero los fines son productos de la conciencia, y, por ello, la actividad que rigen es consciente. No se trata de la actividad de una conciencia pura, sino de la conciencia de un hombre social que no puede prescindir de la producción de fines en ninguna forma de actividad, incluyendo, por supuesto, la práctica, material.[5]

Marx hace resaltar el papel del fin en una actividad práctica como el trabajo humano: «Al final del proceso de trabajo, brota un resultado que antes de comenzar el proceso existía ya en la mente del obrero: es decir, un resultado que tenía ya existencia ideal. El obrero no se limita a hacer cambiar de forma la materia que le brinda la naturaleza, sino que, al mismo tiempo, realiza en ella su fin, fin que él sabe que rige como una ley las modalidades de su actuación, y al que tiene que supeditar su voluntad».[6]

Al subrayar aquí el papel de la producción de fines en el proceso de trabajo, Marx destaca asimismo el papel del objeto —«la materia que le brinda la naturaleza»— sobre el cual se ejerce dicha actividad. La transformación de la naturaleza material en productos mediante el trabajo no podría darse sin estas condiciones materiales, pero, a su vez, Marx subraya justamente por tratarse del trabajo como una actividad específicamente humana el papel determinante del *fin*, y su carácter de ley en dicho proceso de transformación material.

El fin, por tanto, prefigura aquí el resultado de una actividad real, práctica, que ya no es pura actividad de la conciencia. Gracias a ello, el hombre no se halla en una relación de exterioridad con sus diferentes actos y con su producto como sucede cuando se trata de un agente físico o animal, sino en una relación de interioridad con ellos, ya que su conciencia establece el fin como ley de sus actos, ley a la que se subordinan, y que rige, en cierto modo, el producto. Este dominio jamás puede ser absoluto, ya que se halla limitado por el objeto de la acción y los medios con que se lleva a cabo la materialización de los fines.

Así, pues, al anticipar idealmente el resultado efectivo, puede ajustar sus actos como elementos de una totalidad regida por el fin. Esta prefiguración ideal del resultado real diferencia radicalmente la actividad del hombre de cualquier otra actividad animal que, externamente, pudiera asemejarse a ella. «Una araña —dice Marx— ejecuta operaciones que semejan las manipulaciones del tejedor, y la construcción de los panales de las abejas podría avergonzar, por su perfección, a más de un maestro de obras. Pero hay algo en que el peor maestro de obras aventaja, desde luego, a la mejor abeja, y es el hecho de que, antes de ejecutar la construcción, la proyecta en su cerebro».[7]

Tomando en cuenta la semejanza externa que puede darse entre ciertos actos animales y humanos, hay que concluir que la actividad propia del hombre no puede reducirse a su mera expresión exterior y que de ella forma parte esencialmente la actividad de la conciencia. Esta actividad se despliega como producción de fines que prefiguran idealmente el resultado real que se quiere obtener, pero se manifiesta, asimismo, como producción de conocimientos, es decir, en forma de conceptos, hipótesis, teorías o leyes mediante los cuales el hombre conoce la realidad.

Entre la actividad cognoscitiva y la teleológica hay diferencias importantes, pues mientras la primera tiene que ver con una realidad presente de la cual se pretende dar razón, la segunda hace referencia a una realidad futura, y, por tanto, inexistente aún. Por otro lado, mientras la actividad cognoscitiva de por sí no entraña una exigencia de acción efectiva, la actividad teleológica lleva implícita una exigencia de realización, en virtud de la cual se tiende a hacer del fin una causa de la acción real. En efecto, en cuanto anticipación ideal de un resultado real que se quiere alcanzar, el fin es también expresión de una necesidad humana que sólo se satisface con el logro del resultado que aquel prefigura o anticipa. Por ello, no es sólo anticipación ideal de lo que está por venir, sino de algo que, además, queremos que venga. Y, en este sentido, es causa de acción y determina —como porvenir— nuestros actos presentes. Cierto es que el hombre no sólo anticipa el futuro con su actividad teleológica; al dar razón de una realidad presente, y sobre la base de su conocimiento puede prever una fase de su desenvolvimiento que no se da aún. Tal es la legítima función de la previsión científica. Con ella, se anticipa idealmente lo que todavía no existe efectivamente. Pero esa anticipación ideal del futuro no entraña necesariamente que queramos su existencia real, o aspiremos a contribuir a que advenga. En este caso, el futuro no determina nuestros actos; es decir, la prefiguración ideal de una realidad inexistente no rige como una ley —a diferencia del fin— nuestra acción. En pocas palabras, la actividad cognoscitiva de por sí no nos mueve a actuar.

Pero eso no significa que una y otra actividad de la conciencia se hallen separadas por una muralla insalvable. No se conoce por conocer, sino al servicio de un fin, o serie de fines que puede tener como eslabón inicial el de la conquista de la verdad; a su vez, como antes señalamos, los fines que la conciencia produce llevan en su seno una exigencia de realización, y esta realización presupone —entre otras condiciones— una actividad cognoscitiva sin la cual dichos fines jamás podrían tocar tierra, es decir, cumplirse. Por otro lado, todo fin presupone deter-

simple conocimiento de la realidad que él niega idealmente; y, en este sentido —como índice de cierto nivel cognoscitivo— no podría desvincularse tampoco del conocimiento.

Así, pues, la actividad de la conciencia, que es inseparable de toda verdadera actividad humana, se nos presenta como elaboración de fines y producción de conocimientos en íntima unidad. Si el hombre aceptara siempre el mundo como es, y si, por otra parte, se aceptara siempre a sí mismo en su estado actual, no sentiría la necesidad de transformar el mundo ni de transformarse él a su vez. Se actúa conociendo, de la misma manera que —como veremos más adelante— se conoce actuando. El conocimiento humano en su conjunto se integra en la doble e infinita tarea del hombre de transformar la naturaleza exterior, y su propia naturaleza. Pero el conocimiento no sirve directamente a esta actividad práctica, transformadora; se pone en relación con ella a través de los fines. La relación entre el pensamiento y la acción requiere la mediación de los fines que han de traducirse en metas ideales o anticipaciones, y van acompañados de una apetencia de realización; esta realización —o cumplimiento en una materia dada para producir determinado resultado— requiere un conocimiento de su objeto, de los medios e instrumentos para transformarlo y de las condiciones que abren o cierran las posibilidades de esa realización. En consecuencia, las actividades cognoscitiva y teleológica de la conciencia se hallan en una unidad indisoluble.

La actividad de la conciencia de por sí tiene un carácter que podemos denominar teórico en cuanto que no puede conducir por sí sola, como mera actividad de la conciencia, a una transformación de la realidad, natural o social.[8] Tanto si se trata de la formulación de fines como de la producción de conocimientos, la conciencia no rebasa su propio ámbito; es decir, su actividad no se objetiva o materializa. Por esta razón, ni una ni otra son actividades que sean, en modo alguno, actividad objetiva, real, es decir, praxis.

La actividad práctica

Como toda actividad propiamente humana, la actividad práctica que se manifiesta en el trabajo humano, en la creación artística o en la praxis revolucionaria, es una actividad adecuada a fines, cuyo cumplimiento exige —como hemos señalado— cierta actividad cognoscitiva. Pero lo distintivo de la actividad práctica radica en el carácter real, objetivo, de la materia prima sobre la cual se actúa, de los medios o instrumentos con que se ejerce la acción, y de su resultado o producto. En la actividad práctica, el sujeto actúa sobre una materia que existe independientemente de su conciencia, y de las diferentes operaciones o manipulaciones exigidas por su transformación. La transformación de esa materia —sobre todo, en el trabajo humano— exige una serie de actos físicos, corpóreos sin los cuales no podría llevarse a cabo la alteración o destrucción de ciertas propiedades que hace posible la aparición de un nuevo objeto, con nuevas propiedades. En el trabajo, dice Marx, «el hombre se enfrenta como un poder natural con la materia de la naturaleza. Pone en acción las fuerzas naturales que forman su corporeidad, los brazos y las piernas, la cabeza y la mano, para de ese modo asimilarse, bajo una forma útil para su propia vida, las materias que la naturaleza le brinda».[9] Finalmente, el producto de tal actividad transformadora es un objeto material que subsiste con independencia del proceso de su generación, y que, con una sustantividad propia, se afirma ante el sujeto, es decir, cobra vida independientemente de la actividad subjetiva que lo ha creado.

En este sentido, podemos decir que la actividad práctica es real, objetiva o material. Y, a nuestro juicio, así la caracteriza Marx en sus Tesis sobre Feuerbach[10] al emplear la expresión «actividad objetiva». Marx subraya el carácter real, objetivo, de la praxis en cuanto transforma el mundo exterior que es independiente de su conciencia y de su existencia. El objeto de la actividad práctica es la naturaleza, la sociedad o los hombres reales. El fin de esa actividad es la transformación real, objetiva, del mundo natural o social para satisfacer determinada necesidad humana. Y el resultado es una nueva realidad que subsiste independientemente del sujeto o de los sujetos concretos que la engendraron con su actividad subjetiva, pero que, en definitiva, sólo existe por el hombre y para el hombre, como ser social.

Sin esta acción real, objetiva, sobre una realidad —natural o humana— que existe independientemente del sujeto práctico, no puede hablarse propiamente de praxis como actividad material consciente y objetiva; por tanto, la mera actividad subjetiva —psíquica—, o meramente espiritual que no se objetiva materialmente no puede considerarse como praxis.

Formas de praxis

La materia prima de la actividad práctica puede cambiar dando lugar a diversas formas de praxis. El objeto sobre el cual ejerce su acción el sujeto puede ser: a) lo dado naturalmente, o entes naturales; b) productos de una praxis anterior que se convierten, a su vez, en materia de una nueva praxis, como los materiales ya preparados con que trabaja el obrero o crea el artista plástico; c) lo humano mismo, ya se trate de la sociedad como materia u objeto de la praxis política o revolucionaria, ya se trate de individuos concretos. En unos casos, como vemos, la praxis tiene por objeto al hombre y, en otros, una materia no propiamente humana: natural, en unos casos, artificial, en otros.

Entre las formas fundamentales de la praxis tenemos la actividad práctica productiva, o relación material y transformadora que el hombre establece —mediante su trabajo— con la naturaleza.[11] Gracias al trabajo, el hombre vence la resistencia de las materias y fuerzas naturales y crea un mundo de objetos útiles que satisfacen determinadas necesidades. Pero como el hombre es un ser social, este proceso solamente se realiza en determinadas condiciones sociales, es decir, en el marco de ciertas relaciones que los hombres contraen como agentes de la producción en este proceso y que Marx llama justamente relaciones de producción.[12]

En el proceso de trabajo, el hombre valiéndose de los instrumentos o medios adecuados transforma un objeto con arreglo a un fin. En cuanto materializa cierto fin o proyecto, se objetiva en cierto modo en su producto. En el trabajo —dice Marx— el hombre asimila «bajo una forma útil para su propia vida, las materias que la naturaleza le brinda»,[13] pero sólo puede asimilarlas objetivándose en ellas, es decir, imprimiendo en la materia trabajada la marca de sus fines. Marx señala esta adecuación a un fin como uno de los factores esenciales del proceso de trabajo: «Los factores simples que intervienen en el proceso de trabajo son: la actividad adecuada a un fin, o sea, el propio trabajo, su objeto y sus medios».[14]

En esta caracterización del proceso de trabajo, podemos hablar de condiciones objetivas —la actividad del hombre y las condiciones materiales del trabajo— representadas tanto por el objeto del trabajo como por los medios o instrumentos con que se lleva a cabo esa transformación. Sin embargo, esta división no puede considerarse absoluta. En primer lugar, el hombre transforma el objeto con arreglo a fines valiéndose de instrumentos que él mismo usa y fabrica, razón por la cual Marx dice que su uso y fabricación «caracterizan el proceso de trabajo específicamente humano».[15] Al reducir Marx el instrumento de trabajo —condición material y objetiva del proceso laboral— a trabajo humano, el instrumento aparece así humanizado también —tanto por su uso como por su fabricación—. Cierto es que esta humanización no puede concebirse en un sentido abstracto, antropológico, sino como expresión tanto de una determinada relación entre el hombre y la naturaleza como de las condiciones sociales en que los hombres producen (relaciones de producción). Por ello dice Marx: «Los instrumentos de trabajo no son solamente el barómetro indicador del desarrollo de la fuerza de trabajo del hombre, sino también el exponente de las condiciones sociales en que se trabaja».[16] Gracias a los instrumentos, la relación entre el hombre y la naturaleza deja de ser directa e inmediata. La aparición de instrumentos más perfeccionados modifica el tipo de relación entre el hombre y la naturaleza, y, en este sentido, es un índice revelador del desarrollo de su fuerza de trabajo y de su dominio sobre la naturaleza. El poder de mediación del instrumento se ha extendido y elevado con la introducción de la máquina hasta llegar a la automatización con la que el hombre queda separado radicalmente del objeto de la producción. Pero cualesquiera que sean los instrumentos de que se valga para transformar la materia conforme a sus fines, es, en definitiva, el hombre quien los usa y fabrica, y es él, en última instancia, el que valiéndose de ellos actúa sobre las materias y las transforma conforme a sus necesidades. El papel dominante de los medios de producción, subrayado por Marx, lejos de eliminar la presencia del hombre concreto, como sujeto de la producción, lo revela inequívocamente. Pero esta presencia se pone de manifiesto abiertamente con el tercer factor del proceso de trabajo señalado por Marx: su carácter de actividad personal adecuada a un fin. No se puede desconocer el papel de este factor al analizar el proceso de trabajo aunque ello se haga para subrayar la naturaleza material de las condiciones del proceso de trabajo y el papel dominante de los medios de producción.»[17]

Se puede afirmar el carácter teleológico de la actividad práctica, material, que es el trabajo humano, sin que ello implique hacer abstracción de la materialidad misma de ese proceso, materialidad que no se reduce, por otra parte, al objeto de trabajo y a los instrumentos materiales, sino que incluye también, la propia actividad subjetiva del hombre que se enfrenta con sus instrumentos a la materia ya que en el trabajo «pone en acción las fuerzas naturales que forman su corpo-

reidad, los brazos y las piernas, la cabeza y la mano...»[18]

La praxis productiva es así la praxis fundamental porque en ella el hombre no sólo produce un mundo humano o humanizado, en el sentido de un mundo de objetos que satisfacen necesidades humanas y que sólo pueden ser producidos en la medida en que se plasman en ellos fines o proyectos humanos, sino también, en el sentido de que en la praxis productiva el hombre se produce, forma o transforma a sí mismo. «A la par que de ese modo actúa sobre la naturaleza exterior a él y la transforma —dice Marx en El Capital—, transforma su propia naturaleza desarrollando las potencias que dormitan en él y sometiendo el juego de sus fuerzas a su propia disciplina».[19]

Otra forma de praxis es la producción o creación de obras de arte. Al igual que el trabajo humano es transformación de una materia a la que se imprime una forma dada, exigida no ya por una necesidad práctico-utilitaria, sino por una necesidad general humana de expresión y objetivación. En cuanto que la actividad del artista no se halla limitada por la utilidad material que el producto del trabajo debe satisfacer, puede llevar el proceso de humanización que —en forma limitada— se da ya en el trabajo humano hasta sus últimas consecuencias. Por ello la praxis artística permite la creación de objetos humanos o humanizados que elevan a un grado superior la capacidad de expresión y objetivación humanas, que se revela ya en los productos del trabajo. La obra artística es, ante todo, creación de una nueva realidad, y puesto que el hombre se afirma, creando o humanizando cuanto toca, la praxis artística —al ensanchar y enriquecer con sus creaciones la realidad ya humanizada— es una praxis esencial para el hombre.[20]

Como toda verdadera praxis humana, el arte se sitúa en la esfera de la acción, de la transformación de una materia que ha de ceder su forma para adoptar otra nueva: la exigida por la necesidad humana que el objeto creado o producido ha de satisfacer. El arte no es mera producción material ni pura producción espiritual. Pero justamente por su carácter práctico, realizador y transformador, está más cerca del trabajo humano —sobre todo, cuando éste no ha perdido su carácter creador—, que de una actividad meramente espiritual.

Entre las formas de actividad práctica que se ejercen sobre una materia dada hay que incluir también la actividad científica experimental que satisface, primordialmente, las necesidades de la investigación teórica, y, en particular, las de la comprobación de hipótesis. Esta forma de praxis es la que se pone de manifiesto cuando el investigador actúa sobre un objeto material modificando a voluntad las condiciones en que se opera un fenómeno. Tal es el sentido de la experimentación como praxis científica. El investigador produce fenómenos que son una reproducción de los que se dan en un medio natural, pero los produce justamente para poder estudiarlos en un medio artificial —el del laboratorio— sin las impurezas y perturbaciones con que se presentan en el medio natural y que, por esa razón, dificultan su estudio. En cuanto que se trata de producir determinados fenómenos con ayuda del instrumento físico adecuado, la actividad científica experimental es, evidentemente, una forma de praxis. Se trata de una actividad objetiva que da lugar a un producto o resultado real y objetivo.

En este tipo de praxis el fin inmediato es teórico. El experimento se lleva a cabo para probar una teoría, o determinados aspectos de ella. Se experimenta respondiendo a ciertas exigencias teóricas con el fin de facilitar el desarrollo de ella. Un determinado experimento —por ejemplo, los realizados en agronomía— puede tener consecuencias prácticas, pero no directamente, sino a través de la teoría que trata de comprobar.

Ahora bien, la experimentación no es privativa de la ciencia; cabe hablar también de una actividad experimental en otros campos: artístico, educativo, económico o social. En estos casos, a diferencia de la actividad experimental científica, el experimento no está al servicio directo e inmediato de una teoría, sino de una forma específica de praxis; el experimento artístico o educativo tiene por fin el impulso de la actividad práctica correspondiente, el arte o la educación. De este modo, vemos que mientras en la ciencia el fin de la actividad experimental es teórico —fortalecer o impulsar el desarrollo de una teoría—, y, de un modo mediato, sirve por tanto a determinada actividad práctica, en otros campos la experimentación contribuye al desenvolvimiento de la praxis correspondiente, pero de una manera directa e inmediata: en cuanto que sus resultados se aplican en la esfera práctica adecuada.

Tales son las formas fundamentales —aunque no exclusivas— de la praxis cuando la acción del hombre se ejerce más o menos inmediatamente sobre una materia natural —naturaleza inmediata, o naturaleza ya mediata, o trabajada que sirve de objeto de nueva acción—. Veamos, ahora, el tipo de praxis en que el hombre es sujeto y objeto de ella; es decir, praxis en la que actúa sobre sí mismo.

Esta actividad práctica del hombre ofrece diversas modalidades. Dentro de ella caen los diversos actos encaminados a su transformación como ser social, y, por ello, a cambiar sus relaciones económicas, políticas y sociales. En cuanto que su actividad toma por objeto no a un individuo aislado, sino a grupos o clases sociales, e incluso a la sociedad entera, puede denominarse praxis social, aunque en un sentido amplio toda práctica (incluyendo aquella que tiene por objeto directo a la naturaleza) reviste un carácter social, ya que el hombre sólo puede llevarla a cabo contrayendo determinadas relaciones sociales (relaciones de producción en la praxis productiva) y, además, porque la modificación práctica del objeto no humano se traduce, a su vez, en una transformación del hombre como ser social.

En un sentido más restringido, la praxis social es la actividad de grupos o clases sociales que conduce a transformar la organización y dirección de la sociedad, o a realizar ciertos cambios mediante la actividad del Estado. Esta forma de praxis es justamente la actividad política.

En las condiciones de la sociedad dividida en clases antagónicas, la política comprende la lucha de clases por el poder y la dirección y estructuración de la sociedad, de acuerdo con los intereses y fines correspondientes. La política es una actividad práctica en cuanto que la lucha que libran los grupos o clases sociales se halla vinculada a cierto tipo de organización real de sus miembros (instituciones y organizaciones políticas, como son, por ejemplo, los partidos) en segundo lugar, aunque la actividad política vaya acompañada de un choque y contraposición de ideas, proyectos, programas, etcétera, y esta lucha ideológica ejerza una influencia indudable en las acciones políticas reales, concretas, el carácter práctico de la actividad política exige formas, medios y métodos reales, efectivos, de lucha; así, por ejemplo, el proletariado en su lucha política se vale de huelgas, manifestaciones, mítines e incluso de métodos violentos. En tercer lugar, la actividad política gira en torno a la conquista, conservación, dirección o control de un organismo concreto como es el Estado. El poder es un instrumento de importancia vital para la transformación de la sociedad.

La praxis política presupone la participación de amplios sectores de la sociedad. Pero no se trata de una actividad espontánea, aunque se den en ella actos espontáneos de determinados individuos o grupos. Persigue determinados fines que responden a los intereses radicales de las clases sociales, y en cada situación concreta la realización de esos fines se halla condicionada por las posibilidades objetivas inscritas en la propia realidad. Una política que responda a esas posibilidades y que excluya todo aventurerismo, exige un conocimiento de esa realidad y de la correlación de clases para no proponerse acciones que desemboquen inexorablemente en un fracaso. La lucha tiene que ser, por tanto, consciente, organizada y dirigida, y la necesidad de librarla en esta forma explica la creación de los partidos políticos.

Los partidos trazan, con una mayor o menor conciencia de los objetivos, posibilidades y condiciones, la línea de acción. Los métodos para transformar lo ideal en real, es decir, para realizar prácticamente la línea política trazada por un partido constituye la estrategia y la táctica. La estrategia señala las tareas correspondientes a una etapa histórica general, y la táctica determina el modo de cumplir la línea política de un período relativamente breve. Estrategia y táctica se relacionan dentro de la línea política y de su aplicación como lo general y lo particular.

La praxis política, en cuanto actividad práctica transformadora, alcanza su forma más alta en la praxis revolucionaria como etapa superior de la transformación práctica de la sociedad. En la sociedad dividida en clases antagónicas, la actividad revolucionaria permite cambiar radicalmente las bases económicas y sociales en que se asienta el poder material y espiritual de la clase dominante, e instaurar así una nueva sociedad. El agente principal de este cambio es el proletariado a través de una lucha consciente, organizada y dirigida, lo que presupone la existencia de un partido que eleve su conciencia de clase y trace claramente los objetivos de esta lucha, su estrategia y su táctica, que organice las fuerzas y las dirija.

Si el hombre existe en cuanto tal como ser práctico, es decir, afirmándose con su actividad práctica transformadora frente a la naturaleza exterior y frente a su propia naturaleza, la praxis revolucionaria y la praxis productiva constituyen dos dimensiones esenciales de su ser práctico. Pero, a su vez, una y otra actividad, junto con las restantes formas específicas de praxis, no son sino formas concretas particulares de una praxis total humana gracias a la cual el hombre como ser social y consciente humaniza los objetos y se humaniza a sí mismo.

La actividad teórica.

La actividad teórica en su conjunto —como ideología y ciencia—, considerada también a lo largo de su desenvolvimiento histórico, sólo existe por y en relación

con la práctica, ya que en ella encuentra su fundamento, sus fines y criterio de verdad, como trataremos de poner de manifiesto más adelante. Pero por estrechas que sean las relaciones entre una y otra actividad, la actividad teórica de por sí no muestra los rasgos que hemos considerado privativos de la praxis, y, por ello, no debemos ponerla en el mismo plano que las formas de actividad práctica que antes hemos examinado. A nuestro modo de ver, la actividad teórica no es de por sí una forma de praxis.

Aunque la «práctica» teórica transforme percepciones, representaciones o conceptos, y cree el tipo peculiar de productos que son las hipótesis, teorías, leyes, etcétera, en ninguno de esos casos se transforma la realidad. No se cumplen en ella las condiciones que señalábamos anteriormente con respecto a la materia prima, la actividad y el resultado en el proceso práctico. Falta aquí el lado material, objetivo, de la praxis, y por ello no consideramos que sea legítimo hablar de praxis teórica.

Lo que a nuestro juicio veda caracterizarla así es precisamente lo que hay de distintivo en la actividad teórica, entendiendo por ésta tanto la producción de fines como de conocimientos. Por su objeto, fines, medios y resultados, la actividad teórica se distingue de la práctica. Su objeto o materia prima son las sensaciones o percepciones —es decir objetos psíquicos que sólo tienen una existencia subjetiva—, o los conceptos, teorías, representaciones o hipótesis que tienen una existencia ideal. El fin inmediato de la actividad teórica es elaborar o transformar idealmente, no realmente, esa materia prima, para obtener, como productos, teorías que expliquen una realidad presente, o modelos que prefiguren idealmente una realidad futura. La actividad teórica proporciona un conocimiento indispensable para transformar la realidad, o traza fines que anticipan idealmente su transformación, pero en uno y otro caso queda intacta la realidad efectiva. Las transformaciones que lleva a cabo la actividad teórica con relación a esta —paso de una hipótesis a una teoría, y de ésta a otra teoría más fundada— son transformaciones ideales: de las ideas sobre el mundo, pero no del mundo mismo. [24] Y las operaciones que el hombre lleva a cabo para producir fines o conocimientos son operaciones mentales: abstraer, generalizar, deducir, sintetizar, prever, etc. que si bien exigen un sustrato corpóreo y el funcionamiento del sistema nervioso superior, no dejan de ser operaciones subjetivas, psíquicas, aunque puedan tener manifestaciones objetivas.

Por otra parte, pensamos que la admisión de una praxis teórica se halla en contradicción con la crítica que Marx formula en sus Tesis sobre Feuerbach. Si recordamos el contenido de la Tesis I veremos que Marx critica a Feuerbach justamente por concebir la relación sujeto-objeto (u hombre-naturaleza) como una relación meramente contemplativa, o sea teórica. En esto radica el defecto fundamental de la filosofía Feuerbachiana, así como del materialismo tradicional. En este sentido, Marx contrapone relación (contemplativa) teórica y práctica. Y en ese mismo sentido contrapone también en su Tesis XI la filosofía como interpretación, es decir, como teoría desligada de la práctica, y la filosofía vinculada conscientemente a la transformación del mundo.

Esta contraposición de contemplación (teoría) y praxis demuestra que Marx, lejos de admitir la teoría como una forma de praxis, establece por el contrario una contraposición, entre una y otra. Por otra parte al distinguir claramente en su Introducción a la crítica de la economía política, lo concreto real y lo concreto pensado, y presentar la actividad teórica cognoscitiva, es decir, la producción de conocimientos como un proceso ascensional de lo abstracto a lo concreto —proceso que se opera en el pensamiento y que consiste en la reproducción espiritual del objeto real bajo la forma de lo concreto pensado—, Marx señala claramente que se trata de una actividad o producción que no produce nada efectivamente, es decir no transforma la realidad. [22] Una actividad que se opera sólo en el pensamiento y que produce el tipo peculiar de objetos que son los productos de éste no puede, por tanto, identificarse con la actividad práctica que llamamos praxis.

Si llamamos praxis a la actividad práctica material, adecuada a fines que transforma el mundo —natural y humano—, no cabe incluir la actividad teórica entre las formas de praxis ya que falta en ellas la transformación objetiva de una materia mediante el sujeto, cuyos resultados subsisten independientemente de su actividad. [23]

Solamente subjetivizando el concepto de praxis hasta borrar toda diferencia específica con el de actividad en general, podríamos hablar de una praxis teórica. Pero, en cuanto que la actividad teórica de por sí no modifica realmente el mundo —aunque sí nuestras ideas sobre él— no nos parece legítimo hablar de praxis teórica.

La actividad filosófica transforma nuestra concepción del mundo, de la sociedad o del hombre, pero no modifica —directa e inmediatamente— la real. Cabría preguntarse, sin embargo, si esto es válido para toda actividad filosófica, incluyendo aquella que concibe el mundo no sólo como objeto de interpretación sino de transformación. De acuerdo con la Tesis XI de Marx sobre Feuerbach podríamos dividir las filosofías, desde un punto de vista histórico, en filosofías que se limitan a tratar de dar razón de lo existente y que desembocan, como muestra palmariamente el sistema de Hegel, en una conciliación del pensamiento con la realidad (filosofía como aceptación del mundo), y filosofías que sirven —por su vinculación consciente con una praxis revolucionaria— a la transformación del mundo (filosofía como instrumento teórico o guía de una transformación humana radical). Ahora bien, ¿no podría decirse que, en este último caso, la actividad filosófica es ya una forma de praxis, que podríamos denominar precisamente praxis teórica? Y, de no ser así ¿no se encontrarían todas las filosofías en el mismo plano teórico y se borraría la diferencia cualitativa que Marx establece en la Tesis citada entre uno y otro tipo de filosofía?

Detengámonos brevemente en esta cuestión que nos parece de suma importancia para delimitar el contenido de la verdadera praxis.

Descartemos, en primer lugar, el considerar que pueda hablarse legítimamente de praxis filosófica por el simple hecho de que una filosofía tenga consecuencias prácticas. Ya decíamos en nuestra introducción que todas las grandes doctrinas filosóficas las han tenido siempre, en mayor o menor grado, más o menos directamente; en cuanto que independientemente de las intenciones del filósofo, han cumplido cierta función social. Esto vale incluso para filosofías que —como el idealismo alemán— distaban mucho de pretender servir a la transformación efectiva del mundo. No se trata, pues, de eso.

Al plantearnos la cuestión de si la actividad filosófica puede ser praxis de por sí, nos referimos a la filosofía que, vinculada conscientemente a la práctica, se propone ser instrumento teórico de la transformación de la realidad. Pensamos precisamente en el propio marxismo como filosofía que —de acuerdo con la Tesis XI sobre Feuerbach— tiene presente que se trata no sólo de interpretar el mundo, sino de transformarlo. ¿Puede decirse que la actividad filosófica, en este caso, sea praxis, sin olvidar por un momento el contenido concreto que hemos dado a este término? A nuestro juicio, la filosofía ni como interpretación del mundo ni como instrumento teórico de su transformación es de por sí, de un modo directo e inmediato, praxis. La filosofía marxista, siendo necesariamente una interpretación científica del mundo, responde a necesidades prácticas humanas; expresa, a su vez, una práctica existente y, por otro lado, aspira conscientemente a ser guía de una praxis revolucionaria. Con ello se subraya la función ideológica y social de una filosofía que sólo puede ser práctica en cuanto que excluye la utopía y trasciende sus elementos puramente ideológicos para ser ciencia. Lo que la diferencia de las doctrinas filosóficas a que alude Marx en la primera parte de su Tesis XI sobre Feuerbach, así como de otras doctrinas socialistas es, pues, su carácter científico, pero también —y no secundariamente— el concebirse a sí misma en función de la praxis; es decir, como filosofía al servicio de la transformación efectiva, real, del mundo, integrando así la praxis revolucionaria como fin de la teoría.

La teoría de por sí —en este caso como en cualquier otro— no transforma el mundo. Puede contribuir a su transformación, pero para ello tiene que salir de sí misma, y, en primer lugar, tiene que ser asimilada por los que han de suscitar, con sus actos reales, efectivos, dicha transformación. Entre la teoría y la actividad práctica transformadora se inserta una labor de educación de las conciencias, de organización de los medios materiales y planes concretos de acción; todo ello como paso indispensable para desarrollar acciones reales efectivas. En este sentido, una teoría es práctica en cuanto que materializa, a través de una serie de mediaciones, lo que antes sólo existía idealmente, como conocimiento de la realidad o anticipación ideal de su transformación.

Pero si la teoría de por sí no cambia al mundo sólo puede contribuir a transformarlo justamente como teoría. Es decir, la condición de posibilidad —necesaria, aunque insuficiente— para transitar conscientemente de la teoría a la práctica, y, por tanto, para que la primera cumpla una función práctica, es que sea propiamente una actividad teórica —en la que los ingredientes cognoscitivos y teleológicos se hallen íntimamente vinculados y mutuamente condicionados—. En este sentido, una filosofía vinculada a la práctica, que aspira conscientemente a realizarse, lejos de carecer de un contenido propiamente teórico, lo ha de poseer en toda su riqueza. El paso de la teoría socialista de la forma utópica que tiene en Saint-Simon, Fourier u Owen, o de las doctrinas comunistas utópicas como la de Moses Hess, a la forma científica que recibe en Marx y Engels entraña, pudiéramos decir, junto a una elevación de su función práctica, una elevación de su contenido teórico, con la particularidad de que ambos

aspectos se hallan en una relación indisoluble.

La filosofía que se ve a sí misma como instrumento teórico de la praxis es teoría, y como tal no transforma real y efectivamente de por sí. Interpretar no es transformar. Pero de lo que se trata —como dice Marx en la Tesis XI— es de transformar; de ahí que la teoría haya de ser arrancada de su estado meramente teórico y, por las mediaciones adecuadas, tratar de realizarla. Pero este segundo aspecto que es vital cuando no se acepta el mundo como es y se trata de transformarlo, lejos de abolir el contenido teórico de la filosofía, o de reducirlo a un ingrediente meramente ideológico, presupone aquél necesariamente —al nivel de la ciencia—, como condición ineludible para guiar la acción. Así, pues, la actividad filosófica en cuanto tal no es praxis. Y no lo es tampoco la filosofía de la praxis o teoría de la actividad práctica del hombre en sus relaciones con la naturaleza y con otros hombres.

La concepción de la filosofía de la praxis como actividad práctica de por sí es, a nuestro juicio, una concepción idealista, incompatible con el verdadero concepto de la praxis que antes hemos delimitado, y entraña la vuelta a puntos de vista filosóficos —como el de los jóvenes hegelianos—, que ya fueron criticados y superados por Marx precisamente para poder elaborar una filosofía como guía o instrumento teórico de la transformación de la realidad, y hacer posible así la transformación efectiva de ésta.

La actividad filosófica —desligada de la práctica o vinculada conscientemente a ella—, como mera interpretación o como instrumento teórico de su transformación, cultivada por intelectuales de origen burgués o de origen proletario, es siempre una actividad intelectual, teórica. La diferencia cualitativa por su carácter esencial —ideológico o científico—, o por la función que una u otra filosofía puede cumplir, no basta para hablar legítimamente de una praxis teórica.

En suma, la praxis se nos presenta como una actividad material, transformadora, y adecuada a fines. Fuera de ella, queda la actividad teórica que no se materializa, en cuanto que es actividad espiritual pura. Pero por otra parte, no hay praxis como actividad puramente material, es decir, sin la producción de fines y conocimientos que caracteriza la actividad teórica. Ello quiere decir que el problema de determinar qué es la praxis requiere delimitar más a fondo las relaciones entre teoría y práctica.

(1) C. Marx, Tesis (I) sobre Feuerbach, en C. Marx y F. Engels, La ideología alemana, traduc. de W. Roces, EPU, Montevideo, 1959, página 633.

(2) Actividad es aquí sinónimo de acción entendida también como acto o conjunto de actos que modifican una materia exterior o que es inmanente al agente.

(3) Asimismo la contradicción fundamental del modo de producción capitalista es también inintencional. «Es resultado —dice Maurice Godelier— de la acción de todos los agentes del sistema y del desarrollo del sistema mismo, pero no ha sido nunca el proyecto de ninguna conciencia ni un fin querido por nadie». (M. Godelier, Rationalité et irrationalité en économie, Ed. Maspero, París, 1966, página 79).

(4) Cf. a este respecto la carta de Engels a J. Bloch, del 21-22 de septiembre de 1890, en la que el primero dice: «... La historia se hace de tal modo, que el resultado final siempre deriva de los conflictos entre muchas voluntades individuales, cada una de las cuales, a su vez, es lo que es por efecto de una multitud de condiciones especiales de vida; son, pues, innumerables fuerzas que se entrecruzan las unas con las otras, un grupo infinito de paralelogramos de fuerzas, de las que surgen un resultado —el acontecimiento histórico—, que, a su vez, puede considerarse producto de una potencia única, que, como un todo, actúa sin conciencia y sin voluntad... De este modo hasta aquí toda la historia ha discurrido a modo de un proceso natural y sometida también, sustancialmente, a las mismas leyes dinámicas. Pero del hecho de que las distintas voluntades individuales ... no alcancen lo que desean, sino que se funden todas en una medida total, en una resultante común, no debe inferirse que estas voluntades sean igual a cero. Por el contrario, todas contribuyen a la resultante y se hallan, por tanto, incluidas en ella.» (C. Marx y F. Engels, Obras escogidas, en dos tomos, ed. esp., tomo I, Moscú 1952, páginas 459-460.)

(5) Sobre la finalidad como categoría específica de la actividad humana y sus relaciones con la causalidad, véase mi estudio «Contribución a la dialéctica de la finalidad y la causalidad», Anuario de Filosofía, UNAM, año I, México, 1961, páginas 56-61.

(6) C. Marx, El Capital. Crítica de la economía política, traducción de W. Roces, 3a. ed. especial, t. I, Fondo de Cultura Económica, México-Buenos Aires, 1964, páginas 130-131.

(7) Marx, El Capital, ed. esp. cit., t. I., p. 131.

(8) Hablamos aquí de lo teórico en un sentido amplio que abarca tanto la esfera de los fines como de los conocimientos. En este sentido lo teórico se contrapone —no de un modo absoluto, sino relativo, como veremos en el capítulo siguiente— a lo práctico. En un sentido más restringido, lo teórico —el dominio de la teoría— se aplica a un conjunto de conocimientos aglutinados en torno a un principio unificador que los articula y sistematiza constituyendo así un campo científico dado.

(9) C. Marx, El Capital, t. I, página 131.

(10) C. Marx, Tesis (I) sobre Feuerbach, ed. cit., página 633.

(11) «El trabajo es, en primer término —dice Marx—, un proceso entre la naturaleza y el hombre, proceso en que éste se realiza, regula y controla mediante su propia acción, su intercambio de materias con la naturaleza». (El Capital, I, página 130).

(12) C. Marx, Prólogo a la Contribución a la crítica de la economía política, en C. Marx y F. Engels, Obras escogidas, ed. esp. cit., t. I, páginas 332-333.

(13) C. Marx, El Capital, I. ed. cit., página 130.

(14) Ibidem, página 131.

(15) Ibidem, página 132.

(16) Ibidem.

(17) Al analizar la concepción de Marx del proceso de trabajo en El Capital, Louis Althusser subraya, interpretando el pasaje correspondiente, la naturaleza material de las condiciones del proceso de trabajo y el papel dominante de los medios de producción en dicho proceso. A juicio suyo, el proceso de trabajo se halla determinado por esas condiciones materiales («el proceso de trabajo como mecanismo material se halla denominado por las leyes físicas de la naturaleza y de la tecnología»). Al mostrarse así las «condiciones materiales irreductibles del proceso de trabajo», Marx rompe con la concepción del «trabajo como esencia del hombre» y con el «idealismo del trabajo» que esta concepción —propia de los Manuscritos de 1844— entraña (Cf. L. Althusser, «L'objet du Capital», en el t. II de Lire Le Capital, F. Maspero, París, 1965, páginas 144-149).

L. Althusser tiene razón al pronunciarse contra una «ideología antropológica del trabajo» y, por ello, procede justamente al subrayar la importancia de las condiciones materiales del trabajo, lo que le lleva a detenerse sobre todo en dos de los elementos constitutivos de dicho proceso según Marx. Pero en su análisis omite por completo el estudio del tercero de ellos: la actividad adecuada a un fin, o trabajo propiamente dicho. Es esa omisión la que le permite contraponer radicalmente en esta cuestión los Manuscritos de 1844 a El Capital al reducir la concepción de la primera obra a «idealismo del trabajo» y la de la segunda a una «concepción materialista de la producción». A nuestro juicio, la importancia de ese tercer factor del proceso de trabajo —señalado en distinta forma tanto en los Manuscritos de 1844 como en El Capital— es la que mantiene cierta continuidad entre una y otra concepción sin que por ello se borren sus diferencias esenciales.

(18) C. Marx, El Capital, I, ed. cit., página 130.

(19) C. Marx, El Capital, t. I, ed. cit., página 130.

(20) Sobre las relaciones entre el arte y el trabajo, y la concepción del trabajo artístico como creación, véase mi libro, Las ideas estéticas de Marx (Ed. Era, México, D. F., 1965), particularmente los estudios titulados «El marxismo contemporáneo y el arte» y «Las ideas de Marx sobre la fuente y naturaleza de lo estético».

(21) Ya en La Sagrada Familia decían Marx y Engels: «Las ideas no pueden conducir nunca más allá de las ideas del viejo estado universal de cosas. Las ideas no pueden nunca ejecutar nada. Para la ejecución de las ideas hacen falta los hombres que pongan en acción una fuerza práctica.» (C. Marx y F. Engels, La Sagrada Familia, ed. esp. cit., página 165).

(22) «... El método que permite elevarse de lo abstracto a lo concreto no es otra cosa que el modo como el pensamiento se apropia lo concreto bajo la forma de lo concreto pensado. Pero no es de ninguna manera lo concreto mismo.» (Contribución a la crítica de la economía política, ed. francesa, París, 1957, página 165).

(23) En ocasiones se emplea la expresión «praxis» o «práctica teórica», para designar una «práctica específica que se ejerce sobre un objeto propio y conduce a su producto propio: un conocimiento» (L. Althusser, Pour Marx, París, 1965, página 175). En este caso, se presenta como una forma específica de la práctica en general, entendida como «proceso de transformación de una materia prima dada y determinada en un producto determinado, transformación que se lleva a cabo por un trabajo humano determinado, utilizando medios (de producción) determinados». (Ibidem, página 167). La práctica teórica así entendida corresponde en gran parte —no totalmente, puesto que nosotros incluimos también en ella la producción de fines— a lo que nosotros denominamos actividad teórica.

Althusser no emplea, por tanto, esta expresión en el sentido idealista, tan firmemente rechazado por Marx, de producción de ideas que transforma por sí misma la realidad. Se esfuerza asimismo por subrayar el carácter distintivo e irreemplazable de la «práctica teórica» (cf. también a este respecto su estudio Teoría, práctica teórica y formación teórica. Ideología y lucha ideológica, en la revista Casa de las Américas, número 34, La Habana, Cuba, páginas 13-17). Sin embargo, la extensión del término «práctica» a todo tipo de relación o apropiación del mundo real, incluyendo no sólo la teórica e ideológica, sino también la ética y la religiosa (cf. Lire Le Capital, I, página 85) hace que se borre el carácter esencial de la praxis que Marx justamente pretendió destacar (como transformación efectiva, real de un objeto real) frente a un «idealismo de la praxis» (reducción de ésta a la actividad teórica o moral). Creemos, por ello, que el empleo del término «práctica» allí donde no se opera esa transformación objetiva y real induce a confusión pese al empeño en diferenciar sus formas específicas.

Base económica y superestructuras ideológicas

Charles Bettelheim, Jacques Charriere

Los objetivos fundamentales perseguidos por todos los países que han iniciado la vía del socialismo, consisten en principio en esforzarse en realizar tanto transformaciones de base como transformaciones superestructurales, es decir, lograr por una reestructuración social (y no sólo económica) y por transformaciones ideológicas profundas; aunque hay distintos puntos de vista acerca de los lazos que unen a esas diversas transformaciones.

En China se subraya con frecuencia que su meta no consiste sólo en lograr ritmos de desarrollo más rápidos que los que pudo alcanzar el capitalismo sino también y sobre todo promover una nueva formación social con sus normas de comportamiento y superestructuras específicas.

Desde el punto de vista marxista la persecución de ese objetivo no se debe a una opción arbitraria sino al reconocimiento de una exigencia histórica impuesta por el nivel del desarrollo posible de las fuerzas productivas modernas. El reconocimiento de tal exigencia histórica significa la aceptación de que sin un cambio radical no sólo de las relaciones de propiedad sino también del conjunto del modo de producción y de la superestructura de la sociedad las fuerzas productivas o no pueden desarrollarse o sólo se desarrollan de manera contradictoria, es decir, engendrando fuerzas destructivas crecientes tanto en el plano material como en el de los propios hombres. Estos últimos son esclavizados cada vez más por sus propios productos, incluyendo la esfera del consumo.

Más específicamente, el análisis anterior implica que el nuevo modo de producción, el modo de producción socialista, no puede progresar y mantenerse sin la edificación de estructuras adecuadas, es decir, particularmente de relaciones sociales, actitudes, comportamientos e ideas sociales determinados. Sin superestructuras adecuadas, la base económica sobre la que se construye el socialismo está amenazada por transformaciones regresivas, tanto al nivel de las relaciones de producción como al nivel de las propias fuerzas productivas. Estas últimas, en efecto, corren el peligro de progresar cada vez con mayor lentitud si no encarnan con rapidez las actitudes y comportamiento que exige el desarrollo de la sociedad socialista y, sobre todo, si dichas actitudes, conductas y sistemas de valores adecuados tienden no a fortificarse sino a estancarse, en favor de actitudes, conductas y sistemas de valores que caracterizan a las formas sociales anteriores y que conservan todavía una base objetiva en las condiciones materiales, mientras el nivel de las fuerzas productivas no se haya elevado suficientemente.

Por lo tanto, la cuestión que se plantea es la de las relaciones entre la base económica y las superestructuras correspondientes. Según la interpretación mecanicista de dicho problema, se puede pensar que toda forma de producción engendra en última instancia nuevas actitudes, nuevos sistemas de valores, una nueva ideología y un hombre nuevo.[1]

Por el contrario, la interpretación dialéctica del problema nos lleva a pensar que si el progreso de una forma de producción (es decir, de sus fuerzas productivas y de sus relaciones de producción) constituye la condición necesaria de la transformación de la superestructura, esta última, dentro de ciertos límites, tiene un dinamismo propio y, sobre todo, que pueda ejercer una acción regresiva sobre la misma base económica. No es inútil recordar aquí algunas de las interpretaciones que se han formulado de ciertos textos de Marx y Engels.

Una interpretación estrecha de algunos párrafos del Manifiesto Comunista o del Anti-Duhring ha originado a veces una interpretación mecanicista que, sin embargo, es contraria a los análisis globales que nos han dejado Marx y Engels. En efecto, éstos insistieron siempre en el carácter global de las transformaciones sociales y, por tanto, en la interacción de los diferentes elementos cuya suma constituye la totalidad de una formación social.

Por ejemplo, Engels en su libro sobre El origen de la familia, de la propiedad privada y del Estado, ha puesto de relieve las profundas influencias que pueden tener ciertos elementos de la superestructura ideológica sobre la evolución social. Así, cuando analiza la incapacidad de la sociedad esclavista para dar lugar directamente a un nuevo método de producción favorable al desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas, insiste en el "desprecio hacia el trabajo productivo" heredado de la sociedad esclavista, y que representa un freno al desarrollo.

Engels escribe: "La esclavitud... al morir, dejó detrás de sí su aguijón venenoso bajo la forma de proscripción del trabajo productivo por los hombres libres. Tal es el callejón sin salida en el cual se encontraba el mundo romano: la esclavitud era económicamente imposible, y el trabajo de los hombres libres estaba moralmente proscrito. La primera no podía ya y el segundo no podía aún ser la forma básica de la producción social. La única salida posible era una revolución radical.[2]

En ese texto podemos ver claramente de qué manera una actitud ("el desprecio hacia el trabajo productivo"), se convierte en un obstáculo al desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas y cómo Engels estima que sólo una revolución completa podía transformar suficientemente el elemento de la superestructura para que fueran posibles nuevos progresos.

Ya que hemos recordado el anterior texto de Engels, que tiene su equivalente para otras épocas en multitud de análisis marxistas,[3] no es inútil recordar igualmente que Engels prolonga su análisis de la revolución que tuvo lugar entre el quinto y el noveno siglos de nuestra era, ya que se trata esencialmente de una revolución que se efectuó al nivel de las superestructuras ideológicas y que adaptó estas últimas a las exigencias de las nuevas fuerzas productivas.[4]

Engels subraya que a lo largo de los cuatro siglos durante los cuales tuvo lugar dicha revolución, no hubo prácticamente ningún progreso, ni en las fuerzas productivas, ni en las relaciones de producción. A pesar de los grandes cambios a que dio lugar la caída del Imperio Romano y las invasiones de las tribus germánicas, encontramos bajo una nueva etiqueta, las viejas formas de propiedad y las viejas relaciones de producción.

Escribe Engels: "Así, pues, parecía como si al cabo de cuatro siglos la masa de la población hubiese vuelto a su punto de partida".[5] Sin embargo, añade inmediatamente, se había avanzado, porque aun cuando las clases sociales seguían siendo casi las mismas, "los hombres que formaban estas clases habían cambiado".[6]

La referencia a estos análisis sólo en apariencia nos aleja de nuestro tema, el del lugar especialmente importante que se atribuye en China a la adhesión de las masas al sistema de valores, de actitudes y comportamiento que corresponde a las exigencias de la construcción de la sociedad socialista.

Por otra parte, los anteriores análisis nos conducen a rechazar ciertas interpretaciones mecanicistas de las relaciones entre la base económica y la superestructura. Incluso autores que, por lo demás, abordan buen número de problemas desde un punto de vista dialéctico, han sugerido interpretaciones de ese tipo.

Así, hay una cierta interpretación mecanicista en el capítulo 2 del Tomo I del Tratado de Economía Política de Oskar Lange. En ese texto, la eliminación de la no-correspondencia entre las relaciones de producción, por una parte, y el nivel de desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas y el carácter de esas fuerzas, por la otra, apa-

rece como el resultado de la "acción de la primera ley fundamental de la sociología". Esta última, afirma Oskar Lange, "restablece la correspondencia entre las relaciones de producción y las nuevas fuerzas productivas".[7]

En la misma obra, se dice: "Es la acción de la segunda ley fundamental de la sociología (quien) restablece la correspondencia entre la superestructura y las exigencias de la nueva base económica..."[8]

Tales formulaciones sugieren la acción unilateral de las fuerzas productivas sobre las relaciones de producción, y de la base económica sobre la superestructura. El mismo esquema aparece en la página 28 de la obra mencionada; en ese esquema, las "flechas" sólo significan que hay un movimiento de "abajo hacia arriba".

Un corolario lógico de esta concepción es la idea del "carácter conservador tanto de la base económica como de la superestructura".[9] Una y otra son vistas esencialmente como obstáculos al progreso de las fuerzas productivas y como algo incapaz de adaptarse sin retraso, bajo la acción de las dos "leyes fundamentales de la sociología".

Aun cuando Oskar Lange reconoce que el cambio de una forma social a otra constituye un proceso dialéctico, porque resulta de la solución de una serie de contradicciones, la descripción que ofrece de dicho proceso es unilateral. Se limita a invertir la dialéctica hegeliana, pero deja escapar la especificidad de la dialéctica histórica. Esta última se desarrolla a través de contradicciones no sólo operadas, sino pensadas. Por otro lado, las contradicciones no se resuelven por la intervención de una "ley" abstracta, sino por la intervención de las clases o capas sociales que integran objetivamente uno de los polos de la contradicción principal de una época, y que toman conciencia de ella.

Sólo así puede nacer una ideología o una conciencia revolucionaria, es decir, los elementos de una nueva superestructura. La superestructura, lejos de tener un carácter conservador, conduce, por el contrario, a la transformación de la base económica y a un nuevo progreso de las fuerzas productivas.[10]

Cuando se analizan en términos marxistas las transformaciones de la superestructura que condicionan un nuevo progreso de las fuerzas productivas, con frecuencia se consideran esenciales en el análisis las transformaciones políticas y jurídicas, la sustitución de un tipo de Estado por otro, del dominio de una clase por otra, de relaciones de propiedad y de producción por otras. En efecto; se trata de transformaciones decisivas, ya que permiten la sustitución de una vieja superestructura que obstaculiza el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas, por una nueva, mejor adaptada a ese desarrollo. Sin embargo, tales transformaciones son posibles porque las clases antes dominadas han rechazado la ideología anterior (que les había hecho aceptar el antiguo orden de cosas) y se han adherido, al menos en lo esencial, a una nueva ideología que expresa mejor las exigencias de las fuerzas productivas y de las relaciones de producción correspondientes, es decir, las exigencias de la base económica. En este caso se hace evidente que la ideología no es un factor de resistencia al cambio, sino, por el contrario, uno de sus elementos motores.

El papel de la ideología no se limita a la fase más aguda de una transformación social. De hecho, toda nueva forma social sólo puede desarrollarse si la ideología que exige su funcionamiento es cada vez más profundamente, la ideología dominante. Así, según la naturaleza y el grado de dominación y penetración en las masas de una ideología dada, ésta puede frenar el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas o, por el contrario, contribuir a su desarrollo.

Las indicaciones precedentes no sólo tienen un interés teórico. En efecto; si se subraya de una manera unilateral el papel de la base económica, existirá la tendencia a impulsar esencialmente el progreso de esta base, y en particular, el progreso de las fuerzas productivas, el surgimiento de una superestructura ideológica adecuada (en virtud de la "segunda ley fundamental de la sociología").

Por el contrario, al se reconoce que hay una acción recíproca entre la base y la superestructura, al mismo tiempo que se impulsa directamente el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas (por la política económica), se buscará también en las masas el progreso de la ideología que corresponde a la nueva base económica, en particular a través de la educación. Esta última debe procurar que desaparezcan las actitudes y comportamientos heredados del pasado y sustituirlos por actitudes, comportamientos y sistemas nuevos de valores, correspondientes a las exigencias mismas del desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas.

Parece indispensable reconocer que este papel de la educación y de la ideología es tanto más necesario, cuando más avanzadas estén las relaciones de producción y propiedad, establecidas por un proceso revolucionario, sobre el nivel de desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas en un país dado.

El avance[11] del régimen político y social sobre el nivel local del desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas, da lugar, en efecto, a un tipo particular de contradicción, a una contradicción que favorece el progreso rápido de las fuerzas productivas, con la condición de que esté influida correctamente y conscientemente dominada. Esta última formulación no significa que sólo a través de un desarrollo de la conciencia se encuentra asegurado el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas[12], sino más bien que, en ese caso, la conciencia de las relaciones reales de producción y de las contradicciones que pueden caracterizarlas, así como la capacidad de dominar estas contradicciones por un comportamiento adecuado, son necesarias al progreso de las fuerzas productivas.

Para ser socialmente significativas, la conciencia y la capacidad deben expresarse no sólo en términos de conceptos y conocimientos, sino también en forma de organización y actitudes que interpreten de manera apropiada los sistemas de valores y de acción. Si faltan estos últimos, las categorías conceptuales y el conocimiento o la conciencia no son más que abstracciones sin eficacia social.

Sólo después de este largo rodeo podemos volver a ciertas características específicas de la construcción del socialismo en China.

1. En realidad, la misma interpretación mecanicista de las relaciones entre los diferentes niveles de la vida social, ha llevado a algunos marxistas a pensar que el progreso de las fuerzas productivas es suficiente para engendrar todas las condiciones de la transformación revolucionaria de un modo de producción, mientras que en realidad dicho progreso es la condición básica de esa transformación; finalmente, la transformación no se produce sino a través de las contradicciones sociales y de la acción política que engendran estas últimas, es decir, por una acción consciente de los hombres.

2. F. Engels. *El origen de la familia, la propiedad y el Estado*, Ediciones en Lenguas Extranjeras, 1952, Moscú, Tomo II, página 280.

3. Es conocida la célebre frase de Lenin: "las ideas se convierten en fuerzas cuando penetran en las masas". (Lenin, *Obras Completas*, Tomo XXI, Ediciones Sociales Internacionales, 1930, página 310).

4. En efecto, las ideas se convierten en fuerzas positivas cuando corresponden a las exigencias del desarrollo social, es decir, al nivel de las fuerzas productivas y de las relaciones sociales existentes o en proceso de formación.

5. F. Engels. *El origen de la familia...* op. cit., página 283.

6. (Ibid., página 281). El análisis que presenta Engels de esta "transformación de los hombres" ("amos y esclavos") es extraordinariamente interesante. Engels subraya que los hombres de la Europa occidental del siglo noveno, no se habían formado "con la decadencia de una civilización agonizante, sino entre los dolores del parto de una civilización nueva".
Esta "nueva civilización", "en plena vitalidad de desarrollo", debía sus características a las instituciones, actitudes, comportamientos e ideas específicas que introdujeron las tribus germánicas.
Hablando de esas tribus y del origen de su contribución revolucionaria, en el preciso sentido de la transformación de los hombres, Engels escribe:
"Su capacidad y su valentía personales, su espíritu de libertad y su instinto democrático..., en una palabra, todas las cualidades que los romanos habían perdido... ¿qué eran sino los rasgos característicos de los bárbaros del estadio superior de la barbarie, los frutos de su constitución gentilicia?"
(Ibid., página 285), y precisa: "Sus hábitos de gentiles, las supervivencias, vivas entre ellos, de los tiempos del derecho materno" y sus "comunidades de las pequeñas ciudades".
Aquí, Engels subraya el aporte decisivo de las instituciones, de las ideas y de las cualidades morales características del "estadio superior de la barbarie" a la revolución que se desarrolló entre el quinto y el noveno siglos. En tanto que la sociedad surgida del antiguo esclavismo había perdido toda su vitalidad, "sólo bárbaros eran capaces de rejuvenecer un mundo servil que sufría una civilización moribunda". (Engels, Ibid., página 286).

7. Oskar Lange, *Economie Politique*, Presses Universitaire de France, Paris, 1962, XVII-403, página 42.

8. Ibid., página 42.

9. Ibid., página 43; cf. también páginas 39 a 41 e, igualmente, páginas 43 a 48 de la misma obra.

10. Dicho progreso revolucionario es descrito brevemente y de manera parcial por Oskar Lange en la obra citada (páginas 47 y 48), pero sin demostrar que en esto consiste el proceso real de toda transformación social radical, ya que tal proceso implica necesariamente una acción revolucionaria que no se presenta sino cuando ciertos elementos de la superestructura, las ideas, las actitudes, etcétera, se han integrado y encarnado en la "conciencia de clase revolucionaria", y en la forma concreta de organizaciones a través de las cuales esta conciencia de clase toma cuerpo y se expresa.

11. Según la expresión bien conocida de Lenin, cuando habla de la Rusia Soviética como un "país políticamente avanzado y económicamente atrasado".

12. Tal interpretación parece ser la de Ernesto Che Guevara en su artículo "La planificación socialista, su significado", en "Cuba Socialista", junio de 1964, páginas 13 a 24, cf. página 17 in fine.

LA PALMA DE LA MANO

José Lezama Lima

La palma de la mano sobre el río.
La palma paso a paso, hacia mí, leyéndome.
Narciso mascado por la niebla ascendente,
vuelven los dioses descensores, Orfeo
y Stephanophorophoro.
El índice demuestra, señala la inflexible
llanura de la nieve, demuestra.
El índice demuestra la carreta sobre un hilo,
la diagonal con cuerpo de cocodrilo
y cabeza de gavilán,
el anillo de oro en el tumor de la luna.
La mano se extiende sobre la llanura
de nieve, la palma de la mano
acompasa la boga del río.
La carreta conduce un canoso
reloj de pared. Icaro con dos guadañas.
Saturno se come las alas de cera.
Se extiende, demuestra, se deja leer.
Icaro, ya caído, nadando,
habla con el Resucitado sentado en el légamo.
El vencido por el sol regresa con las estaciones
y el que triunfa de la muerte se vuelve a morir.
Es un bodegón de cebolla, manzana y amapolas.
El aire está exprimido en el puño
que se cierra, el arador por la palma de la mano
deja el reminiscente batido y batihojas,
el deseo paliducho, la serpiente, el doble
del comienzo, el truchimán vindicativo,
círculo que golpea en las narices.
La capota caída se mide por su sombra.
Icaro vencido y el Resucitado vencedor,
el Resucitado esperando la muerte
y el Icaro eterno relator.
En su sangre el laberinto y el torete
oscuro luchando con el tigre dormido.

¿Quién da brincos acompasado en la ebriedad del relojero?
Arrugado, puro detesto, cara de rompeolas.
El Príncipe de Praga, relojero sin deseos,
ahogado en el reloj de agua,
ola por ola, ola sin sucesión,
ola para ojos.
El tiempo caminando detrás de las pestañas
como elefante, casquetes, medialunas,
ensortijados monos llorones,
verde portezuela y amarillo prestidigitador,
abrían el bostezo en la cantina escandinava,
un penique por cada bostezo
y va de contra el bigotillo
para el perrequete circulante,
pero el tiempo no es como el aguacero
que tapa las grietas
y baldea el puente parabólico de la guitarra.
Tenemos que medir el tiempo por el vaivén
de los ojos y cerrar los ojos
y el murmullo que nos va devorando
cuando nos sumergimos en la madre del carbón.
Sumergidos toda inocencia puede llegar a ser culpa,
tan pronto surge la polifemaida del otro,
los martillazos desconchados
en el cálculo de la [illegible] sombreada.
Los entorchados del fusilamiento, el pez egipcio
saltando al sol, pueden hacer el pecado inocente.
El tic-tac raspado es pecador en Isis
y después es inocente en Osiris.
El jinete escita pega sin testes y la franja
celeste rompe el cántaro de las bodas.
Así seguimos colocando ladrillos en el muro
y sobre los muros cascos de botella,
así nos cosimos la oreja en el cancán.

1967

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LA CASA DE CARLOS

PRIMAVERA EN JEVANI

Roque Dalton

Carlos Jurado sufrió tanto en su infancia, que en cuanto se casó escogió como hogar aquella casa de la zona 12 del DF, adornada con una cabeza de caballo en el portón. Era una casa enorme, dividida en innumerables pisitos, buhardillas y simples rincones, donde las veraneras y los jacintos parecían engordar de humedad y de sol matutino, con o pupilas de matrona provinciana que llevase una alacena repleta de mermelada de grosella en vez de corazón y quien, luego de la merienda de las diez, hubiese gastado un cuarto de hora en consumir su puro de mariguana que le abriría el apetito para el almuerzo. En el laberinto de sus jardines y corredores se perdió hace años Chaflán, aquel olvidado cómico de cine mexicano, del cual tuvieron luego que decir que había muerto, ahogado o apopléjico, en el extranjero. Precisamente la mujer de Carlos, Chichal, encontraría su esqueleto bigotudo detrás de una maceta de geranios en marzo de 1965 y, a fin de rescatarlo para hacerlo clavar en la gran cruz de la biblioteca dormitorio, tuvo que disputarlo seriamente durante toda una mañana a una vasta jauría de cucarachas doradas. Carlos paradójicamente, se había enamorado a primera vista de las rejas españolas que adornaban muchos de los ventanales interiores de la casa, porque le recordaban las de San Cristóbal de Las Casas y las de su propio hogar allá, que por cierto le servían de jaula-prisión cuando lo castigaban por mojar la cama a los ocho años de edad, exponiéndolo a las miradas de los transeúntes que marchaban friolentamente a misa, con aquel cartel autocrítico colgado del pecho: "Soy meón y cagón". Carlos nunca perdonó a su familia la imputación calumniosa del segundo pecado. Aquella casa, para empezar a decir algo funcional a su respecto, era deliciosa de habitar, tal esos sueños que se nos repiten de cuando en cuando y nos van configurando poco a poco un ideal de no se qué, cuyos definitivos perfiles y texturas venimos tan sólo a comprender 23 horas antes de morir. Hablamos, desde luego, para personas que han nacido o viven en el Hemisferio Norte. Era eso sí, una casa enemiga del invierno. Cuando llegaban las lluvias, el caballo del portón se volvía rojo de ira y desde debajo de las tejas surgían miles de tentaculillos vibrátiles, rematados en diminutos paragüitas color sangre azul que formaban una especie de pleura monumental que rechazaba el agua y convertía las calles adyacentes en Niágaras de barrio. Las paredes echaban una pelusa lanosa de un centímetro de espesor, lo cual no les impedía, sin embargo, tiritar en las madrugadas, derrumbando en los interiores reproducciones de Siqueiros, depósitos de agua bendita, diplomas de Abogados y Dentistas. Desde sus patios, ventanas, claraboyas, no se podía ver nunca la luna en esa temporada, aunque espléndiese, llena, en las escampadas; para ello había que cruzar la calle. De allí que algunos opinen que, además de la pleura aquella, la casa se erigía entonces una cúpula invisible que para el ojo humano no detenía sino los rayos de la luna. Porque las estrellas se miraban lo mismo. Y los pájaros. En el invierno cambiaba en la casa el tono del eco hasta adoptar el de un viejo bajo acatarrado impostando la voz con pésimo oficio teatral para demostrar ira patética. No importaba entonces que la voz original fuera del niño de una familia de violinistas, acostumbrado a hacer sus requerimientos fundamentales a fuerza de chillidos especialmente agudos, o de una señorita asustadita, ubicable en algún Buró Político de la Orden Tercieria del Santísimo Sacramento, en plena reacción oral ante los sustos curativos del hipo. No es que la casa se volviese en aquel tiempo incómoda o agresiva. Todas aquellas transformaciones poseían su propia gravedad y hermosura y más bien construían un mundo especial de seres objetos y fenómenos relacionados entre sí con una disciplinada, responsable armonía, similar a la de las pasiones shakespeareanas, que, desde luego, podríamos objetar, en uso de una moralidad agnósticas, únicamente con el argumento de que toda ella estaba basada en el odio al invierno. Y hablar luego con toda hipocresía de las necesidades de la producción de cereales, de los pastos para el ganado de leche, de las sequías en el Brasil y sus hambrunas concomitantes. Hasta allí somos capaces de llegar, estéticamente cobardes como, de vez en cuando, somos. Oh, queridas lectoras, pero ¡qué indiscutibilidad reenía sobre la belleza de aquella casa cuando llegaba la primavera! Ni los espíritus más audaces serían capaces de racionalizar a primera vista la absoluta integralidad de la misma y más bien comenzarían por confundirla con una simple, aunque esplendente, paz, un orden de integración a los días en que la naturaleza se despereza y se lava la cara, una —con el perdón de ustedes y en última instancia— táctica. Por el contrario, la casa en primavera era la casa como nunca, lógicamente cerrada sobre sí, poblada de innumerables datos que nos decían de su relación directa con lo Absoluto, fulgurante en medio de una sequedad de agua dura, como una esmeralda o una espada pulimentada para muestrario, soberbia en fin, como una bailarina de dieciséis años cuando se incorpora del lecho sobre la segunda hora de amor y nos deja, mientras se mete en el cuarto de baño para sentarse en el bidet, con una mano en alto, lánguida y expectante a la vez, como en el instante de iniciar el Pas de Quatre, y nos deja, decía, felices, pero con una bolita de duda entre las manos que de pronto comienza a crecer hasta tomar un tamaño tal que nos vemos abismados a iniciar con ella (o sea, la ex-bolita de duda), angustiados, un nuevo cuerpo a cuerpo con el que no contábamos, que a lo mejor no nos permitirá ese cuarto episodio, el que decimos preferir por cuanto nos permite conocer desde ahora las urgencias de los placeres de la madurez y cuya misma posibilidad se nos torna de pronto problemática porque Ella nos ha llamado con suavidad desde el baño y nos ha dicho que no encuentra la llave del agua caliente, pero a pesar de todo nos quiere mucho y además va a pedirnos que

nos asomemos porque se le antoja vernos desnudos un poquitín. Como un joven jefe de Estado Mayor que dirige, antes que nadie, la batalla. Pero me parece que hablábamos de alguien, en algún lugar de México. Y como momentáneamente no sé si se trataba de alguna referencia, en algún sentido, política, permítaseme que haga un paréntesis preventivo para ubicarme en mi normal estado de responsabilidad. Alguno de ustedes podría ayudarme, digo yo.

PRIMAVERA EN JEVANI

Colores andróginos, una verdadera Patagonia de colores, acechantes, anfitriones de la duda, impermeables a la mayor voracidad, organizadamente salvajes, manducables como una neo sinfonía japonesa escuchada junto al sol que te ha despertado de la más larga noche de amor. Los pajarillos no temen de Oswaldo Barreto ni de mí, posiblemente nos confunden con dos obreros de las fábricas de embutidos de Praga. Por el contrario, silban sobre nuestras cabezas valses para Banda Municipal y nos hacen avergonzarnos (vergonzosa vergüenza) de los gritos de nuestras urracas y nuestros querques, de la chachalaquería de las bandadas de pericos, de la pescozada sonora del azacuán herido en tiempo de frío. "A las seis de la mañana no va bien la cerveza —nos dice Ingra al traer los tarros humosos. Es, pues, este, un peligroso lugar. Como para decir, a la hora del crepúsculo (aunque es aún demasiado temprano para pensar en él, estimadas todas las cautelas): "La vida, en general, ha sido bella". Precisamente ayer, después de discutir sobre la excesiva carga sexual de la literatura moderna, visitamos una granja de cerdos. Veterinarios con gabacras blancas examinaban a los gigantescos animales rosados con estetoscopios respetantes, a la vez que conmovedores, mientras demandaban de nosotros que no habláramos en voz alta. Antes de entrar, nos habían cubierto el rostro con bozales de gasa, para evitar que nuestros microbios personales se quedaran allí. Se nos dijo que el lugar estaba incluso alejado de las carreteras y las vías de ferrocarril, pues todo ruido extraño asusta infinitamente a los cerdos, los hace perder peso y los puede matar del corazón. Nunca vi cerdos con más aspecto de hijo de puta que éstos. Son jamones vivientes, con horribles venitas azules por todos lados, insolentes, idénticos a Monseñor Francisco Castro y Ramírez, un exageradamente soberbio obispo del oriente de mi país. Oswaldo Barreto, de pronto y sin advertírmelo, emitió el más agudo alarido que recuerdo haber oído en los últimos cinco años. El desconcierto cundió como diría un novelista hondureño, sobre todo porque los cerdos comenzaron a mostrar síntomas de angustia que pronto se transformaron en una especie de ataque de asma colectivo. Los veterinarios corrían espantados de aquí hacia allá y nuestro guía, absolutamente furioso y temblón, le dijo a Oswaldo: "La regla aquí es el silencio". "Yo suelo gritar —contestó éste— soy venezolano". "Al país que fueres haz lo que vieres" —citó, popular, pero no menos tensamente, el guía. "Cuando Uds. lleguen a Venezuela no los obligamos a gritar" —sentenció Oswaldo imperturbable antes de que yo lo sacara casi a empujones del lugar. Casi vomité de la risa. Como cuando vi aquel rótulo en una calle de Santiago de Chile: "Zorobabel Galeno, sastre militar". Aunque ahora no recuerdo lo que tal anuncio tenía de gracioso. Oswaldo pagó, no obstante, su delito: anoche soñó que lo habían echado para atrás en sus estudios y que se encontraba de nuevo en cuarto año de secundaria, iniciando un examen final de trigonometría sin saber ni siquiera pronunciar la palabra cateto. Despertó sudando en plena madrugada y me ha despertado también para pasear un poco y buscar cerveza. Entonces es que yo he decidido hablar sobre la primavera. Época del año en que florecen hasta los futbolistas, como todo el mundo sabe. Y que en Checoslovaquia se transforma en una orden edilicia para bañarse entre las truchas o buscar hongos y muchachas desnudas bajo el sol que los pinos del bosque dejan bajar al suelo. Mañana volveremos a Praga con la cara quemada por ese sol. Oswaldo Barreto y yo debemos salir de estos lugares lo más pronto posible, so pena de ponernos a tener hijos rubios con Zdenas y Janas y engordar a fuerza de grandes filetes, algodonosos melocotones y fresas con crema, hasta olvidar que alguien está muriendo mal en nuestra vieja casa, preguntando por nosotros con perentoriedad. Viva esta primavera, sin embargo.

DEBATE CON ALBERTO MORAVIA

"L'Espresso" de Roma organizó, recientemente, un debate entre el escritor **Alberto Moravia** y los estudiantes **Massimiliano Fuksas, Sergio Pétruccioli y Duccio Staderini**, quinto año de Arquitectura; **Valerio Veltroni**, primer año de Filosofía, y **Oreste Scalzone**, tercer año de Filosofía. El tema del debate se centra en la crítica y en la oposición a esta última generación de intelectuales contra aquellos que se dicen izquierdistas y contra aquellos que dominan el mundo de la cultura oficial. Este debate polémico pone de manifiesto las contradicciones entre ideología y vida práctica de algunos intelectuales.

Moravia: Yo pertenezco a ese tipo de proletario que se llama a sí mismo artista. Los objetos que yo fabrico son novelas y dramas, o sea, que logro crear de la nada, con mis manos o mejor dicho con mi mente, algo que antes no existía, y lo vendo. Si estuviera en la China no podría colocar mis productos porque no hay demanda, en la China de hoy, para productos como los míos. En Italia esa demanda existe parcialmente; de todas formas yo vendo estos productos a quien los paga según las leyes del mercado, porque, como he dicho, vivo de mi trabajo en un país, que es Italia. No podría colaborar en diarios partidarios pues no pertenezco a partido alguno, es decir tengo mis propias ideas que, en ciertas ocasiones, pueden o no coincidir con las de algún partido. Si yo colaborara con Unitá (Organo del Partido Comunista), por ejemplo, no podría escribir todo lo que se me ocurriera; y por otra parte, si bien actualmente no tendría dificultad en compartir la línea de **Unitá** con respecto a Viet-Nam, durante veinte años en cambio (hasta el XX congreso) el stalinismo me habría impedido colaborar en forma absoluta. De manera que yo publico mis novelas en el Corriere della Sera. Sin embargo, ustedes no encontrarán en el Corriere della Sera una sola palabra en favor del sistema existente hoy en Italia.

Scalzone: Quisiera recordarle a Moravia que cualquier obra literaria, cualquier producto intelectual es un hecho político. Ignorar todo eso significa hacer ya una elección política, entrar en el juego de los intereses creados, en otras palabras integrarse. Publicando novelas en el Corriere della Sera, cualquiera que sea su contenido, usted, Moravia, está tomando una posición política bien definida.

Moravia: No más que cualquier proletario en un régimen capitalista. ¿Por qué entonces los pintores deberían eximirse de esa acusación? ¿Por qué los profesores? ¿Por qué los arquitectos, o los directores de cine? ¿Por qué los obreros que trabajan, supongamos, en una fábrica de armas?

Scalzone: En efecto, nosotros no proponemos como modelo la figura del obrero esclavizado, sino la del obrero que se libera de la esclavitud. El obrero puede liberarse políticamente, volviéndose revolucionario militante. El escritor, en cambio, manipula material intelectual y a menudo identifica y limita su actividad en el acto de escribir.

Petruccioli: El obrero dentro del sistema, es un esclavizado. El intelectual, en el momento en que acepta moverse dentro del aparato de la cultura dominante, acepta un papel que no es el del esclavizado: se vuelve un intermediario entre la clase que está en el poder y los consumidores. Cuando, para vender su producto, él usa como medios de comunicación justamente aquellos canales que constituyen la fuerza y la continuidad de la cultura dominante, entonces está asumiendo una posición clara, prescindiendo del contenido de sus obras.

Scalzone: En otros términos, no se trata sólo del contenido o de las ideas, sino de la función que el libro pasa a asumir en la estructura económica.

Moravia: En un sistema capitalista los editores son capitalistas y el escritor es un proletario al igual que cualquier otro que está en condiciones de ser aprovechado (y a menudo lo es), y el libro es un producto a ser consumido. Si ustedes afirman que el arte no es expresión sino producto, entonces, no pueden pretender que el escritor sea un intelectual, o sea un creador con privilegios y responsabilidades mayores que los demás. Deben en cambio admitir que es una especie de artesano, o sea un proletario. Hay contradicción entre el papel que ustedes le exigen al intelectual, y el valor de producto que le atribuyen al arte. Por otra parte, habría que ver si el producto literario está hecho para el consumo o para la representación. Hay una gran diferencia entre la industria cultural y la expresión artística. La primera produce un arte de élite, que en los países capitalistas obedece a las leyes del beneficio y en los países comunistas, a las leyes del Estado: es lo mismo, por lo menos para los fines del arte.

En Occidente existe el límite del beneficio; en Oriente el de la propaganda. Se trata siempre de un arte de élite. O sea una literatura que tiene que ser consumida, no importa dónde, en el tren o en los bancos de las escuelas. Nunca revolución alguna quiso eso. Las revoluciones quieren la libertad de la expresión artística. Es decir, considerando que para ustedes los contenidos (o sea la crítica del poder) no cuentan, quieren la libertad del lenguaje.

El escritor que no quiere ser intermediario entre las clases dominantes y el público puede encontrarse operando en tres situaciones históricas diferentes. Si la situación lo permite, o sea los tiempos son cómodos, puede hacer arte de cualquier tipo; si los tiempos apremian deberá abandonar la representación y la poesía para el ensayo, el artículo; finalmente, si los tiempos no dejan otra alternativa, dejará de ser escritor, hombre de cultura, y será el ciudadano que defiende su libertad con un fusil. Ahora yo les pregunto: ¿en cuál de estas situaciones nos encontramos hoy? En mi opinión podemos trabajar todavía con un margen bastante amplio, en Italia por lo menos, como para hacer representación artística aunque, como sabemos, es ambigua de por sí. Cuando los tiempos apremian ciertamente la poesía ya no alcanza: se necesita la publicación periodística. Cuando finalmente empiezan a entrar los nazis en la casa de uno (como me pasó a mí) entonces es necesaria la lucha armada.

Petruccioli: Me parece que la diferenciación de Moravia entre el momento del artista, del periodista y del ciudadano, vuelve a presentar el error que ha existido en la cultura izquierdista en los últimos veinte años. ¿Qué significa individualizar tres niveles de integración para un intelectual que opera en el interior de un cierto régimen? Significa procurarle una protección ideológica.

Scalzone: Significa darle la posibilidad de considerarse inocente cuando vende las novelas al **Corriere** en nombre de la búsqueda estilística y comprometido cuando firma un cartel por la paz en nombre de sus recuerdos de la Resistencia. Significa darle la posibilidad de jugar en dos mesas.

¿Dónde puedo escribir —dice Moravia—, qué canal puedo utilizar, que me deje ser plenamente libre? Si yo escribiera en **Unitá** no podría criticar por ejemplo una película soviética como **Natacha**. Por lo tanto, escribo en el **Corriere della Sera**.

Scalzone: Esa forma de razonar refleja la personalidad del intelectual de izquierda de la década del 50. Refleja la psicología de cierta generación de intelectuales de izquierda para los cuales el compromiso político ha sido exclusivamente actividad de resistencia, que es algo muy diferente de una orgánica actividad revolucionaria. ¿No le parece, Moravia, que usted se está quedando estérilmente atado a ese mundo?

Moravia: Creo que no soy extraño a lo que está pasando alrededor de mí. Antes

de la guerra teníamos el fascismo. Después de la guerra, la lucha de clases. Hoy tenemos la civilización industrial o de los consumos. Hoy, a pesar de que siguen existiendo las clases y las luchas de clase, me interesan principalmente los males de la civilización industrial.

Veltroni: Yo quisiera hablar de nuestra situación de universitarios, de nuestra polémica. Nosotros nos damos cuenta de que la universidad, en la sociedad occidental, sólo sirve para proveer los técnicos que contribuyen al fortalecimiento de la estructura capitalista. No es instrumento de libertad, no sirve para sustituir la recepción policial con el libre juego intelectual. Por eso criticamos tanto a un determinado tipo de hombre de cultura. Ciertos intelectuales para nosotros son simplemente agentes. Fingen representar a la izquierda, pero en realidad no hacen otra cosa que servir al sistema.

Moravia: La relación entre arte y política no es tan simple como ustedes creen. Cuando escribía **Gli indifferenti**, por ejemplo, yo era prácticamente apolítico. Sin embargo todo el mundo vio ahí una denuncia política.

Sladerini: Mire señor Moravia, a mí no me interesa cómo usted organiza sus relaciones con la sociedad. Sólo me preocupo de que usted no trate de justificarlas o no trate de salvar su alma, como han estado haciendo los intelectuales de izquierda en los últimos veinte años. Han conciliado lo que no es conciliable. Han repetido a cada instante "Soy un comunista, soy un marxista y por lo tanto no estoy de acuerdo con esta sociedad". Pero enseguida agregaban: "Pero ésta es la sociedad en que vivo y la actividad que yo puedo desarrollar en ella es el arte". En otras palabras han reservado para sí mismos una intervención que no cambia nada. Es una manera de integrarse, aunque sea una manera un poco hipócrita.

Moravia: Yo no deseo salvar mi alma aquí en Italia, ni en Rusia, ni en Estados Unidos ni en ninguna otra parte.

Veltroni: Usted dijo que la autogestión de las fábricas por parte de los obreros y el aprovechamiento de los obreros, aun bajo un dueño iluminado son la misma cosa. Como comunista, cuando escuchamos cosas como ésa nos rebelamos: Es una posición social-demócrata.

Moravia: Ya dije solamente que el eslabón de la cadena de montaje es factor de alienación tanto en una fábrica en autogestión como en una fábrica capitalista. En otros términos, la cuestión de fondo sigue sin resolverse: el hombre integrado en una cadena de montaje, ¿cómo hará para ser hombre? ¿Cómo hará para comunicarse?

Fuksas: Este es el secreto y la finalidad de la revolución cultural: permitirle comunicarse.

Moravia: Si usted hubiera leído mi libro sobre China, habría encontrado aquí que, para mí, una de las grandes esperanzas de la revolución cultural consiste justamente, en hacer pasar al hombre desde la condición campesina a la tecnológica sin que tenga que pasar por la etapa burguesa de los consumos.

Petruccioli: El intelectual de izquierda está atado a un tipo de actividad desarrollada en el pasado, que hoy él llama revolucionaria pero que objetivamente no lo es.

Moravia: ¿Qué actividad?

Petruccioli: A la actividad desarrollada durante la Resistencia, que actualmente se usa para justificar una serie de operaciones equivocadas.

Cuando usted dice que hoy el problema ya no consiste en la lucha de clases sino en la lucha contra la civilización industrial y la ética de los consumos, asume una actitud de esclavo. Su posición es análoga a la de aquellos que creen que es suficiente el hecho de estar inscritos en alguna organización política para calificar sus productos. Ese es un razonamiento falso. En otras palabras, serían más sinceros si se limitaran a decir: "Yo necesito ganar plata. Trato de cumplir con mi trabajo libremente, pero cuando no lo consigo tengo el atenuante del estado de necesidad". Este es el discurso que hay que rebatir; vuestra mala fe es demostrada por la venta misma de vuestros productos. Presentando vuestros productos de esa forma, como fruto de la ideología de la clase obrera ustedes desacreditan a la clase obrera misma. Ustedes se presentan como inocentes de cómo andan las cosas en el mundo capitalista a pesar de compartir la responsabilidad de todas esas cosas.

Scalzone: Quisiera recordarle la frase de Carmichael, el líder del Poder Negro, "El intelectual no nos interesa por lo que hace, sino por lo que hace por nosotros". Esto es también nuestro criterio. Con él medimos la posición política del artista.

Moravia: Ustedes, en otras palabras, quisieran un arte completamente politizado. Por mi parte, yo no escribo artículos políticos en el **Corriere**, como no los escribía en **Unita**. No tengo partido, odio a los partidos. No me afiliaría a ninguno de ellos. Me transformaría en un instrumento y no podría serle útil a nadie, ni siquiera al partido al cual estuviera afiliado.

Fuksas: ¿Pero usted está seguro, en su condición actual, de no ser un instrumento?

Moravia: Permítame definir al artista. El artista es el hombre, el único hombre que tiene el deber de mantenerse parecido a un niño, o sea no reprimirse y condicionarse en favor de sociedad alguna. La función social del artista, en otras palabras, es la de ser en alguna medida un antisocial.

Veltroni: Y afirmando eso, ¿usted sigue creyéndose marxista?

Moravia: Desde luego soy marxista. Pero no existe sólo el marxismo. Creo que éste es un excelente instrumento de conocimiento, pero no el único.

Scalzone: El marxismo no es un instrumento de conocimiento, sino de transformación del mundo.

Moravia: Conocimiento, para un artista, quiere decir transformación del mundo. Yo no soy hombre de acción: si lo fuera todo sería mucho más simple, aceptaría al marxismo como instrumento de transformación, como doctrina para la acción.

Veltroni: El "Che" Guevara ha dicho: "Los intelectuales deberían suicidarse, como clase". Eso significa que el intelectual no debe usar su pluma como instrumento para hacer lo que le gusta y evitarse el enfrentamiento con la realidad. ¿Qué piensa usted de esa frase, que en parte es aceptada también por Mao?

Moravia: Digo que es la frase de un hombre de acción, revolucionario de profesión. Un hombre que coloca la acción política por encima de todo lo demás. Pienso también que la pluma es un instrumento para hacer lo que nos gusta y en consecuencia enfrentarnos a la realidad.

Veltroni: ¿Su juicio sobre las obras de Mao y Guevara?

Moravia: Opino que Mao es un excelente escritor. Permítame citar mi libro sobre China. Página 45: "Ha sido al mismo tiempo el Lenin, el Trotski y el Stalin (pero también el Maiakovski) de China". En cuanto a Guevara, lo conozco poco como escritor. Como hombre de acción su figura (lo afirmé en una entrevista a **Paese Sera**) es heroica.

Scalzone: Usted, Moravia, ¿cree que sus reportajes desde China o desde Corea, o sobre Podgorny, pueden contribuir a la lucha que los países socialistas o del tercer mundo están llevando en contra del imperialismo?

Moravia: Nunca escribí nada acerca de Podgorny. El artículo desde Corea (Ver ANALISIS, No. 334) era una descripción verídica de la espantosa situación de Corea del Sur. Léanlo, o vuélvanlo a leer, y verán. Junto con otros escritores europeos he firmado en una página del New York Times, un llamado contra la guerra de Vietnam. Llamé hace poco tiempo a la Academia de Artes y Letras americana, de la cual formo parte como miembro honorario, con el fin de que se decidan a tomar posición en contra de la guerra. Naturalmente firmé manifiestos contra la guerra, no se hace otra cosa desde hace veinte años. ¿Pero para qué sirve? Se debiera hacer más. Deberíase impedirle a Estados Unidos hacer la guerra. Pero yo, como escritor, ¿qué puedo hacer?

Veltroni: Debería hacer dos cosas. Primero: en el momento en que usted escribe reportajes o artículos por ejemplo, no debería apoyar al imperialismo. Segundo: no debería preocuparse sólo de lo que escribe, sino también de donde lo escribe, y quien lo leerá.

Scalzone: Otra pregunta a Moravia. La relación entre hombre y cadena de producción es de todas formas una relación alienada. La contradicción que interesa en el plano social es la relación entre aprovechador y aprovechado. ¿Usted de qué lado está? Si está con el segundo, ¿piensa combatir el primero? ¿Con cuáles medios? ¿Piensa que pueden ser los propios de su profesión de escritor? ¿O que se pueda y deba combatir con otros medios?

Moravia: Representar, en arte, es combatir, porque la representación es acusación y juicio. Fuera de ello, queda la acción política o armada.

Fuksas: La "generación intermedia" a la cual Moravia pertenece, ha formado una especie de monopolio cultural y económico de toda la producción. Esta es la razón por la cual renegamos de los hombres de cultura de aquella generación.

Moravia: Yo no participo de ningún monopolio cultural ni mucho menos económico. He protestado siempre, en mis libros. Protesten ustedes también. Prueben a escribir una novela en contra del monopolio.

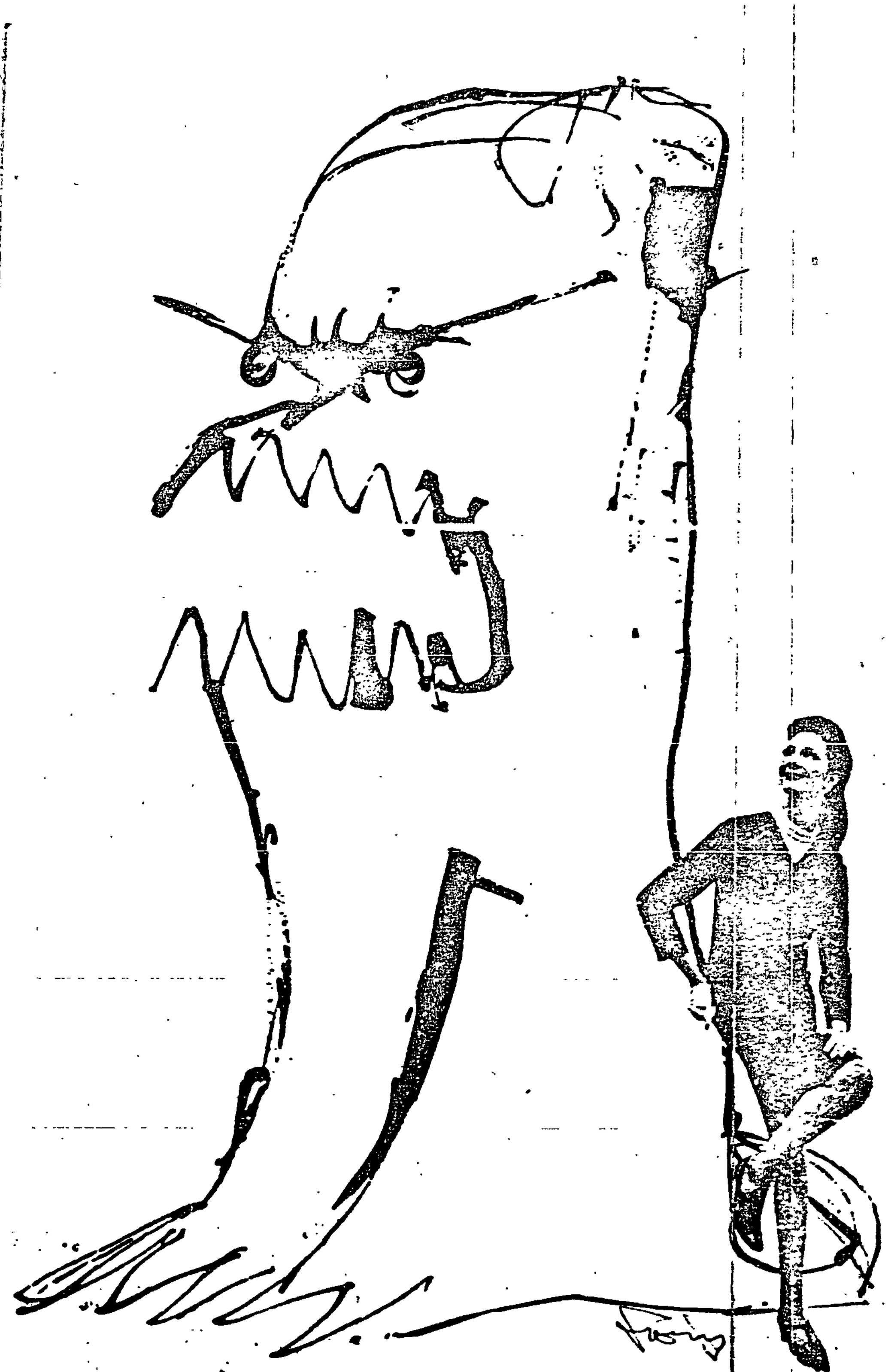
Staderini: Una última pregunta: ¿Usted dijo que firma llamados por la paz en Vietnam?

Moravia: Es cierto.

Staderini: Firma también en el **Corriere della Sera**, que es el órgano de la opresión imperialista en Italia. ¿No es una contradicción?

Moravia: Si es cierto que el **Corriere della Sera** es el órgano de la opresión imperialista en Italia, es una contradicción. De todas formas no escribo artículos ideológicos, y si los escribiera, no los publicaría en el **Corriere della Sera**. Finalmente, a pesar de que yo no sea stalinista, permítame citar a Stalin: "Dicen que nos contradecimos. Pues sí, nos contradecimos". Sólo los agit-prop no se contradicen.

(Tomado de la revista "Análisis", Argentina, marzo de 1968)



14-00000

ORIG: W. J. KAUFMAN
UNIT: C/WH/1
EXT: 9354
DATE: 23 November 1968

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IMMEDIATE
MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY ROUTINE: JMCOBRA

CITE DIRECTOR 53469

RYBAT/PBRUMEN

REFS: A. GUATEMALA CITY 7596 (IN 40291) *

B. MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN 40273) **

C. DIRECTOR 47408 *** (NOT SENT JMCOBRA)

1. AGREE POINTS REF A PARA 1 A THRU E BUT BELIEVE TIME NOW PROPITIOUS FOR DIRECT GUAT CITY STATION REP DISCUSSION WITH MEXICO CITY STATION ON GUAT INSURGENCY SITUATION AND ~~[struck]~~ REPORTED CUBAN INVOLVEMENT. FOR THAT REASON, UNLESS IMPORTANT NEEDS TO CONTRARY, RECOMMEND KNOWLEDGEABLE GUAT CITY STATION CASE OFFICER PROCEED MEXICO AS REQUESTED REF B.

2. BELIEVE AS STATED REF C THAT LIRING-3 SHOULD BE FACTUAL AS POSSIBLE IN PREPARING REPORT ON CONTACTS AND EXPERIENCES WHILE IMPRISONED GUATEMALA, AND IN GIVING OPINION ON HOW ~~[struck]~~ CUBANS HAVE FAILED THERE. TO MAKE HIM APPEAR TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE ON FAR/PGT COULD AROUSE SUSPICIONS LIRING-9 AND COLLEAGUES.

3. IT SEEMS POSSIBLE LIRING-9 MAY HAVE BEEN RELATING DIRECTLY TO ACTIVITIES OF HECTOR SANCHEZ GONZALEZ PER MEXICO CITY 7744 (IN 18686) IF LIREBEL-2 REPORT INDEED BASED ON FACT.

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CONTINUED

JP
23 Nov 68

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PAGE TWO

MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY

4. OBJECTIVE, OF COURSE, IS TO LEARN OF GUAT INSURGENT FORCES AND ASSESS ANY CUBAN EFFORT THERE. AT SAME TIME DESIRE ENTICE ~~[illegible]~~ CUBANS TO EXPOSE HAND AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WITHIN FEASIBLE KNOWLEDGEABILITY LIRING-3. ACCORDINGLY BELIEVE DETAILED DISCUSSION IN MEXICO WITH GUAT STATION C/O AT THIS TIME WOULD BE PROFITABLE AND WELL WORTH VISIT.

END OF MESSAGE

Hqs Comments: *) References attached
**)
***)

WH/COG: Paul Oberst (telecon)

WH/2: Jack Murray (draft)

Chief, WHD

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TO: Chief, WH Division		NO INDEXING REQUIRED
INFO.: Chief of Station, Guatemala City		ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING
FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City		MICROFILM
SUBJECT: PBRUMEN/The LIRING-3 Operation		

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Action Required: FYI

References : A. HMMA-35904, 27 November 1968
B. MEXICO CITY-8159, 22 November 1968

1. Forwarded herewith as attachment #1 are three reports on the most recent developments of the LIRING-3 operation, one dated 17 November and two dated 22 November, prepared by Wallace B. ROWTON. The gist of the 22 November report relating the conversation which LIRING-3 had on that date with LIRING-9 was cabled in reference B. Some additional comments by LIRING-9 passed on orally by ROWTON and not included in his report were included in reference B.

2. Forwarded as attachment #2 are Xerox copies for both addressees of two letters received by LIRING-3 from FAR contacts in Guatemala. The third letter was prepared as an answer by LIRING-3.

Raymond A. Frailya

for Willard C. CURTIS

MICROFILMED DEC 9 1968 DOC MICRO. SER.

Attachments:
1. Reports (3), h/w
2. Letters (3), u/s/c
3. Identity Sheet (1), u/s/c

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/atts - 1 copy each)
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CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
	HMMA - 35905	27 November 1968
	CLASSIFICATION: SECRET	HQS FILE NUMBER: 201-798301

Att 1
HMMA-35905

MICROFILMED
DEC 9 1968
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17 November, 1968

Subject: LIRING/3 [illegible] tact with LIRING Office.

1. During the period 4-15 November, 1968, Rowton met with LIRING/3 on four occasions to debrief him on his activities. LIRING/3 agreed with Rowton that there were several phases to his renewed operational activity that needed careful planning and co-ordination. He commented on these as follows:

(a) Maintenance of Contact with FAR: LIRING/3 sent a letter to Rafael Arguete A. giving him his current address so that "Pavel" could be informed how to contact him. In response to this letter, LIRING/3 received a note from the mother of the Miguel and Juán León Barrios on 14/11/68 enquiring about his health. Since the letter was addressed to LIRING/3's new address he felt it was proof that his reply to Arguete's letter had been received. He stated that he hoped "Pavel" or some one else representing FAR would soon appear.

(b) RE-establishment of Contact with LIRING AND PBRUMEN: LIRING/3 agreed with Rowton that his ultimate objective would be a trip to PBRUMEN to act as liaison between the authorities there and FAR. Rowton stressed the need to keep the local LIRING establishment informed and in support of his activities, to avoid hurting their feelings by going over their head (as happened before the last trip). LIRING/3 commented that he would have to maneuver matters so that he was extended an invitation. He would try this through LIRING/10, but if it did not succeed he would try a discreet approach through Orlando Suarez who, he felt, could arrange a cultural invitation without difficulty.

LIRING/3 subsequently reported to Rowton that he met with LIRING/10 on the morning of 15/11/68 in the patio area of the LIRING establishment and that the latter had introduced him to his replacement, who invited LIRING/3 to meet with him any morning about 1100 except Mondays and Fridays. LIRING/9 also asked LIRING/3 to meet with him privately at his convenience so that he could debrief him on his experiences. LIRING/3 commented that LIRING/2 was very cordial but did not ask him any specific questions or show interest in debriefing him. LIRING/3 promised Rowton that he would attempt to gain access to LIRING/10's office for the debriefing.

(c) Cover Problems: LIRING/3 told Rowton that he would make every effort to obtain some kind of cover employment so that he could justify any funds given to him by Rowton. He stated that he was attempting to

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arrange for an exposition to display his products and at the same time persuade a leading member of his profession to permit him to work in his establishment (for a nominal salary). LIRING/3 then suggested a better possibility - an exposition in Montreal, Canada, where he had contact with a person who could arrange matters for him. LIRING/3 confessed that he favored Canada for another personal reason. He explained that LIRING/4's father was suffering from what appeared to be terminal cancer of the throat or esophagus and that L/4 was very anxious to see him before he died. L/4 had stated several times that she planned to request a visa for travel to New York since it was out of the question for her father to travel to Mexico City to visit her. LIRING/3 told Rowton that in any case he felt it unwise to permit L/4 to visit New York where she would inievitably fall in with all sorts of refugees who would report on her attitudes. He preferred to travel with her to Montreal under cover of the exposition and then ask her father to join them there - a trip within reason for a person in his condition. L/3 added that he felt he and L/4 could travel by boat at a modest fare and this would permit him to carry as many of his products as possible for the exposition.

Rowton agreed that this might be a solution, but recommended that L/3 look into the possibility of returning to Mexico via IBRUMEN (on the boat) since this would kill two birds with one stone. Rowton suggested that L/3 determine whether L/4's father was actually in a condition to travel even the relatively short distacne. If not it might be possible for L/4 to travel to New York via Montreal by train at less expense than by air.

Wallace B. Rowton

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ATT 1
HMMA-35905
22/11/68

1. LIRING/3 received letter ~~acknowledging~~ from "Marta" postmarked 9 November, Guatemala,C.A. acknowledging receipt L/3's letter and expressing relief from anxiety. Gives greetings from "los canchitos" Miguel,Elsa,"La Negra","La Chiquitia",Felisa,Maria Elena,"La gordita" Envelope written by other hand is addressed to L/3 at his new residence and bears return address: M.Bol.,28c "B" 8-25 Zona 8. LIRING/3 told Rowton this letter from mother Juán and Miguel ~~Barrios~~ León Barrios, sent apparently to test commo channel. L/3 replied to letter 22/11/68 stating he expects soon make trip "outside country" and asking ~~Marta~~ Marta to tell "los canchitos" (her sons Miguel and Juán) to send him the assignment ("encargo") soonest since he in position to help them in some way. L/3 enclosed clipping from "Siempre" of letter to editor describing his experiences in Guatemala.

2. L/3 also turned over ~~to Rowton~~ letter from "Espinoza" postmarked 7 November,Guatemala,C.A., sending warmest greetings, but containing phrase,"the León Barrios send you greetings",which L/3 interprets to be signal from Juán and Miguel that contact with FAR imminent. Envelope addressed to L/3 at his new address bears return address: Oscar Moises Raldán E.,Granja Penal Pavón,Fraijanes,Guatemala.

3. LIRING/3 also reported ~~that~~ he had private talk with LIRING/9 on late morning 21 November in which L/9 stated he most interested in any observations L/3 might wish make concerning attitude and opinions his FAR contact with respect to PBRUMEN support. He asked L/3 to put his thoughts in writing and submit them to him at 1730 on 26 November. At L/3 request he promised invite LIRING/10 and other interested LIRING officials to this meeting. LIRING/9 expressed opinion that LIRING/3 should subsequently travel to PBRUMEN for "more detailed" discussions and offered arrange cultural cover invitation. He added that it would not be necessary for L/3 make formal application for visa.

4. LIRING/3 will submit to Rowton draft of his report on afternoon 25/11/68 so that Rowton may amplify as desired. L/3 told Rowton he plans take line that PBRUMENs do not understand local problems and that their aid in past has been dissapated in factionalism. L/3 asked Rowton for as many details as Rowton can gather to strengthen his report (such as

local FAR attidute toward César Montes and CPG leaders through whom PBRUMEN has worked in past. Also in French girl who executed recently about whom L/9 asked L/3 a number of questions, indicating PBRUMEN interest in exact role she played vis-á-vis FAR.

WBRowton

14-00000

Att 1
HMMA-35905

22 November,1968

Subject: LIRING/3 Report of Meeting with LIRING/9.

1. LIRING/3 reported to Rowton at the safehouse (Identity B) at 1015 on 22 November,1968, that he had met with LIRING/9 at the latter's private office late the previous morning for a very serious discussion. L/3 explained that he had visited the LIRING offices with LIRING/4 to pass out invitations to the exposition scheduled to begin on 23/11/68, and that L/9 approached him immediately and asked him to come into his office for a chat,"if he could spare the time." Early in the conversation, Rowton's reconstruction of which follows, LIRING/3 got the impression that L/9 had been delegated by LIRING/10 to talk privately with him on the matters he broached:

9/ "I'm glad, chico, that you have a few minutes, since I wanted to talk over a few things very seriously and in private."

3/. "I'm at your disposition. What do you have in mind?"

9/."Well, what are your plans?"

3/."What plans do you mean? After all I have a lot of plans for different things,as you can imagine."

9/."I mean your plans for the immediate future."

3/."Well, I pllan giving this exposition (to which you are invited, of course) in the hope of raising enough money to take a trip to Montreal where I expect to have another exposition already being arranged by CPIC. This will enable LIRING/4 to come up there to see her father who is very ill, as you probably know. Her father will gladly help us financially to cover some of the cost of the trip."

9/."Yes, but I mean what about your plans for continued political activity?"

3/" Well, that's different. As you know I have had a long standing interest in Central America politically, and, despite the fact that it has cost me a great deal personally, I hope to continue helping my friends within my capabilities. Fortunately, there in really nothing that I know of against me here in Mexico,since I have not become involved with organizations and parties."

9/."I see. But has your experience in Guatemala affected your attitude towards us?"

3/."Frankly it has. I have a much better idea of the struggle from first-hand experience, and much more sympathy for the difficultie

that the comrades there had had to undergo."

9/."But could you be more specific?"

3/."Well, it's a long story. I had hoped to discuss it in some detail with several of you together, particularly LIRING/10 and his replacement."

9/."Yes, that will be arranged. But first I would appreicate your going over everything with me."

3/."Well first of all, I would like to have present Iden A with his wife since I want once and for all to clear up any questions about the circumstances of our mutual experience there."

9/. "Donk't be childish. We know all about Iden A, just exactly what kind of person he is as well as his wife. Such a confrontation is a waste of time, as far as we're concerned."

3/."But don't forget the fact that the parents of the wife of Iden are very close friends of the LIRING Chief and it's quite natural that they'll present their point of view when they see him."

9/. "Don't worry about that. It's a purely social relationship,and, in any case, our Chief really hasn't got very much to do with these things,and his opinion won't matter."

3/. "I hope so. I'd feel better in any case to talk about the detail in Iden's presence, so that he will agree,as he must on his responsibility. You realize, of course, that he carried with him such compromising material that it was a miracle that we were not assassinated on the spot."

9/."Yes, but that is unimportant now. What is important isthe fact that you have learned a great deal about the mentality of our friends down there, and that this could prove very useful to us in our future dealings."

3/."Yes,for instance, they told me among other things that César Montes had spent too much time with your people, on trips to your country and to Mexico, and had completely lost touch with the revolution. That's the reason he was "destituido".

9/."So, you know that!"

3/."Yes, and many more details of wh y they are unhappy - the lack of adequate financial support, the inability of PBRUMEN to embarrass FBPRIME In their increasing trade success."

9/." Very interesting! I have a suggestion. Suppose you prepare a written report (informe) and bring it in at 1730 sharp on 26 November. I'll have some of my colleagues present so that we

can all discuss your opinions and suggestions. I suggest 1730 because it will be quieter then and we can go to a better place to talk privately."

3/. "Fine, but I would like to be able to amplify my report in person in the PBRUMEN capital. Perhaps I could stop off there on the way back from Montreal."

9/. "But there are no passenger ships making that run. Only cargo ships. I have a better suggestion. We could arrange an invitation for a cultural exposition that would appear innocuous."

3/. "Fine. I agree that would be best. Do I have to make any formal application?"

9/. "No. It won't be necessary. I'll handle everything. But what about LIRING/4?"

3/. "That's a rather delicate matter. She has not quite gotten over my experience, and might object to my re-involvment in political matters. I therefore would request you not to mention this aspect to her. She could go off to her home town and visit her family and think that the whole trip is cultural."

9/. "Yes, I agree that would be best under the circumstances."

Wallace B Rowton

Att 2
HMMA-35905

R/ Cesar Moises Roldan E.
Granja Penal Pavón
Fraijanes Guatemala

GUATEMALA 8
CORREOS DE GUATEMALA AEREO 5

DIA DEL [illegible]
12 DE NOVIEMBRE

Señor:
Carlos Jurado
Edificio Carlusa A-6
Pachuca y av. Veracruz
Mexico M. D. F.

CORREO AEREO
VIA AIRMAIL

[illegible]
CONTROL
[illegible]

s/c att. 2
HMMA-35905

CS COPY

201-795381

7/11/68

Estimado Carlos

no saber la alegría que recibí al tener noticias tuyas ya que me imaginaba muchas cosas a Dios gracias no fue así, y me siento feliz de que te encuentres con los tuyos.

De este lugar pues te dire seguimos siempre con el martirio de encontrarnos privado de nuestras libertades yo pues siempre dandole a la pelota tu sabes que es la unica distracción que hay te agradesco infinitamente por las cosas que me dejaste

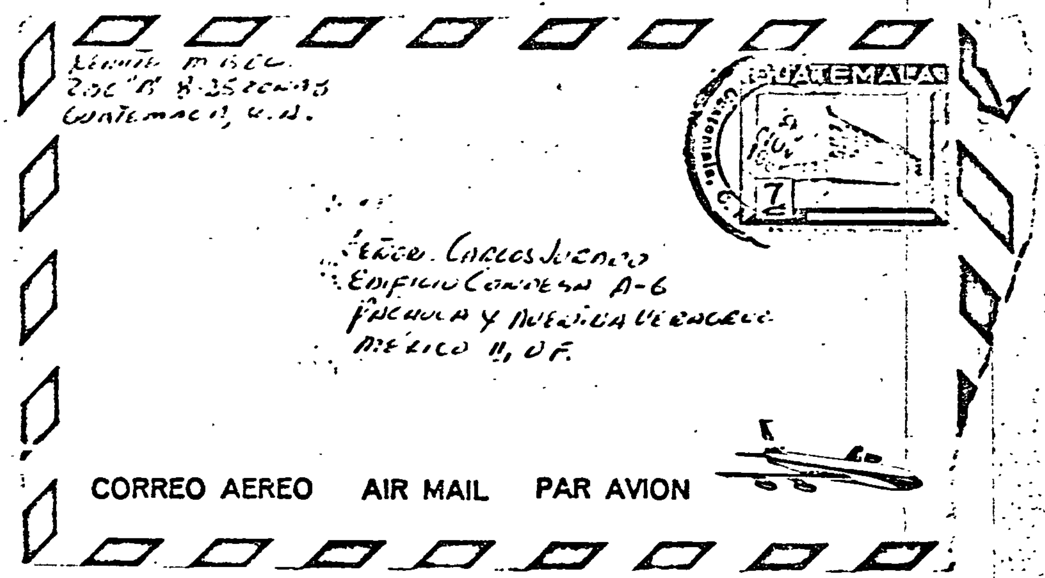
14-00000

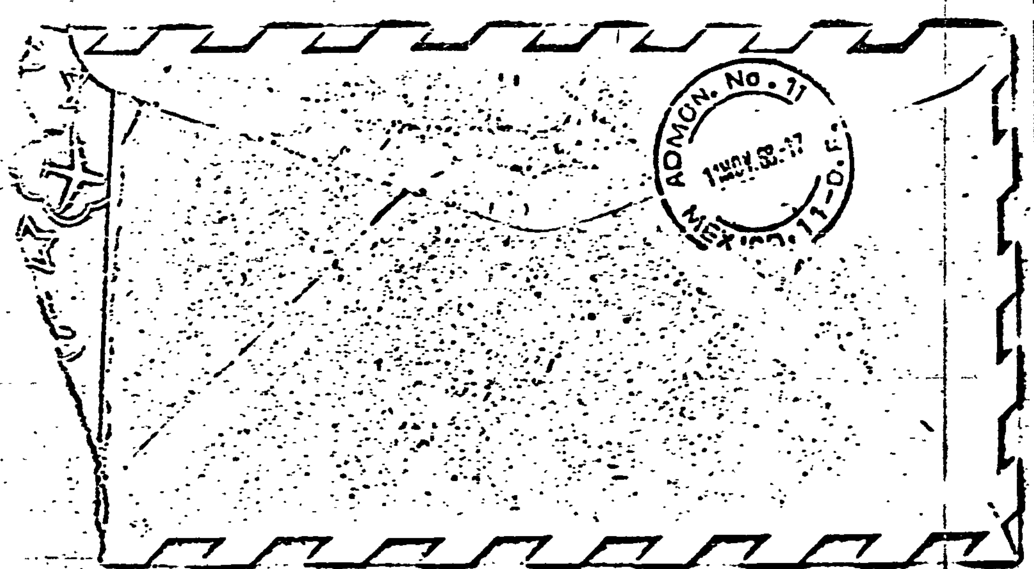
... de Juan Barrios te ... saludan cuentame de ... yo se que no qui... sieran ni recordar este lugar y tienen mucha razón, pero siempre me escribas ya que me siento triste mis ... amigos pues eran Uds, y tu sabes que en este lugar hay que saber elegir sus amistades. Bueno Carlos después te contaré muchas cosas saluda-me a tu esposa y a Carlos, los recuerdo al ver la Champa y me da tristeza enviame una postal. tu amigo sincero

[signature]

14-00000

ATT 2
HMMA-35905





Guatemala, 8 de Noviembre
1968.

Carlos con que gusto recibimos tu misiva pues se nos quito la angustia que teniamos por Ustedes.
Nosotros siempre igual todos esperando la voluntad de Dios y del tiempo.
Los conchitos como tu les dices estan bien y te mandan muchos abrazos y muchos recuerdos a ti y a tu esposa y nenas

yo cada ves que voy alla tengo la impresion de verte por supuesto no lo tomes a mal pues es sin duda el cariño que te profeso pero no deseo nunca nunca jamas verte esa condicion.
Resibe cariños de Miguel el rigotudo. Elsa, La negra la Chiquitia, Eliza, Maria Elena, la gordita de la Cari y de tu amiga que nunca te olvidara. y dile a tu esposa que no valla i sentirse celos

de esta vieja fea pero que te estima y quiere con todo corazon,

Marta

Profe perdona letra y ortografia pero no se escribir. Que me valia decir la primera que la ultima

ATT 2
HMMA-35905

"México" DF. 21 de Nov. 68

Marthita:

Le envío un recorte. Próximamente haré un viaje fuera del país. Necesito les diga a los Carlitos me envíen el encargo lo más pronto posible pues puedo tratar de ayudar en algo.

Espero hayan recibido mis líneas sin novedad y reciban TODOS mis saludos afectuosos.

C.

AIR MAIL AVION AIR MAIL AVION

[illegible]
[illegible]
México 11 DF.

Sra.
Martha Barrios
28 Calle "B" 8-25 Zona 8
Guatemala, Guatemala
C. A

PAR AVION
VIA AIR MAIL

Siempre! Nov. [illegible] - 68

AVENTURA DE JURADO EN GUATEMALA



Sr. José Pagés Llergo
Director de SIEMPRE!

Hace unos días volví a la ciudad de México, después de haber permanecido encarcelado durante casi 7 meses en Guatemala, sujeto a un juicio —del cual salí absuelto— acusado por las autoridades de aquel país de "atentar contra las instituciones democráticas".

No pretendo hacer una crónica de las circunstancias de mi detención, del proceso judicial, etc., pues estos detalles en parte fueron dados a conocer en su oportunidad por SIEMPRE!; pero sí quisiera relatarle en una forma breve algunas de las cosas que observé durante esos meses en el campo de concentración de Pavón, mal llamado "Granja Penal Pavón", donde estuve confinado.

Dicha "granja" está situada a más o menos 20 Kms. de la ciudad de Guatemala en el Departamento de Fraijanes y consiste en un hoyanco artificial rodeado de cercas electrificadas y torretas de vigilancia, como en los campos de concentración nazis. Se supone que en los países civilizados los sistemas carcelarios disponen de los medios suficientes para proporcionar a los reclusos un mínimo de comodidades o elementos que le permitan su desarrollo o rehabilitación; pero en este sitio sólo imperan el terror y el hambre, así como las condiciones más infrahumanas y espeluznantes, ya que la insalubridad y la falta de atención en todos los aspectos es lo que allí impera.

La población aproximada de "la Granja" oscila entre 1,300 y 1,500 reos, de los cuales los "presos políticos" no llegan a 20, ya que los detenidos por delitos de esta naturaleza son generalmente asesinados después de su detención y estar sujetos a torturas.

Por lo tanto, la casi totalidad de los presos son "delincuentes comunes", pero podría decirse que en un 40% son inocentes del delito de que se les acusa; pues en Guatemala, para ser encarcelado no es necesario tener pruebas en contra. Una simple acusación policíaca o de particulares basta para quedar sujeto a un proceso en el cual es común salir absuelto después de uno o dos años de encarcelamiento.

La administración interna del penal está encomendada a los reclusos, para lo cual se escoge a los delincuentes más depravados y que tienen condenas largas: asesinos, drogadictos, etc.

Para mantener la disciplina se ha formado un cuerpo de represión denominado "servicio especial" o "garroteros", como vulgarmente se les llaman. Este grupo, cuya impunidad es ilimitada, mantiene a los reclusos en terror constante, ya que basta la falta más mínima para que golpeen con saña brutal al infractor, llegándole a causar hasta la muerte.

El penal no proporciona a los reclusos ningún medio de trabajo, pero sí propicia la formación de mafias internas que explotan a quienes tienen mayores necesidades, haciéndolos trabajar en fábricas elementales de algunas artesanías: canastos, juguetes rudimentarios o pelotas de futbol; productos que envían a la calle para su venta y de los cuales esas mafias obtienen grandes ganancias que comparten con la dirección del Penal.

Uno de los negocios más productivos, y del cual participan las autoridades en combinación con los reclusos influyentes, es la venta de seconales sódicos y mariguana a los reclusos; drogas con las que una gran mayoría trata de borrar su desesperación y angustia, pero trayendo por consecuencia reyertas que degeneran muchas veces en el asesinato.

Como mencioné antes, la "Granja Penal de Pavón" consiste en un hoyanco artificial cuyo espacio habitable se reduce a un rectángulo de 170 por 70 metros, aproximadamente, el cual incluye 5 cuadras y una explanada al aire libre, irónicamente llamada "campo deportivo". Cada una de las cuadras alberga un promedio de 250 personas que viven en la más absoluta promiscuidad. Para agravar esta situación funciona diariamente —durante 12 horas— un altoparlante, audible en todos los rincones, y que se utiliza para acrecentar el amedrentamiento y el terror. Por ese altoparlante se llama a los reclusos, que son solicitados para presentarse a la autoridad del penal, pero siempre haciendo hincapié en la amenaza y en la intimidación.

Los reincidentes o reos peligrosos, están confinados en el "Triángulo", que es un espacio pequeño, protegido por alambradas, del cual no pueden salir ni siquiera a la explanada. En las cuadras, sólo una parte de los reclusos dispone de literas; la mayoría duerme en el suelo cubriéndose con trapos viejos o cartones. La alimentación que el penal proporciona consiste en dos pequeños panes y café por la mañana, seis tortillas y un poco de caldo, o de frijoles al mediodía, y otro poco de frijoles por la tarde. Una parte de los reos se alimenta con los escasos medios que sus familiares les llevan los días de visita o en pequeñas fondas que algunos han instalado para obtener ingresos. Tampoco existe atención médica adecuada: sólo una barraca con algunos implementos rudimentarios [illegible], para cualquier enfermedad, se proporcionan [illegible] dos aspirinas, o un [illegible] y gasa, si es una herida, ya sea [illegible].

[illegible] reviste gravedad extrema [illegible]

[illegible] llegar requiere de [illegible]

[illegible]

tarros o piezas de latón, [illegible]

les esas mafias obtienen grandes ganancias que comparten con la dirección del Penal.

Uno de los negocios más proc[illegible]vos, y del cual participan las autoridad[illegible] en combinación con los reclusos influyentes, es la venta de [illegible] [illegible] y [illegible] a los reclusos; drogas con las que una gran mayoría trata de borrar su desesperación y angustia, pero trayendo por consecuencia reyertas que degeneran muchas veces en el asesinato.

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Un hecho que reviste gravedad extrema para los reclusos acusados de delitos políticos, es el de cómo llegar seguros de vuelta a sus hogares el día que reciben su libertad de ese infierno. En todas las "cárceles" del país el total de presos políticos no llega a 100. Una gran mayoría de ellos al [illegible] el penal, son [illegible] (Sigue en la página 70)

[illegible]

(Viene de la página 6) cuestrados" y desaparecidos en la carretera por cualquier grupo de los innumerables cuerpos policiacos represivos que existen en Guatemala, previo aviso, claro está de la dirección del Penal, que comunica con toda anticipación el día que un preso político obtiene su libertad.

En general, la "Granja Penal Pavón" es posiblemente una de las prisiones más terroríficas que existen en Latinoamérica y sería oportuno que la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la ONU organizara una revista de inspección, para desenmascarar así una de las tantas formas de violencia que imperan hoy día en tan bello pero desafortunado país.

Le agradezco muy sinceramente las informaciones y defensa que la revista SIEMPRE! ha hecho de mi caso.

Atentamente,

Carlos Jurado.

14-00000

S E C R E T

Attachment #3
HMMA-35905

Identity Sheet

Identity A: Carlos PERSABAL Marcue

Identity B: Suites Marne

CIT: Mexico
Δ: Mexico

re: connection with
Subj. of 201-798301

S E C R E T

S/c att 3 HMMA-35905

201-798301

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: S E C R E T

PROCESSING ACTION: Att 2
X MARKED FOR INDEXING
NO INDEXING REQUIRED
ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING
MICROFILM

TO: Chief, WH Division

INFO.: Chief of Station, Guatemala City HGG

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: PBRUMEN/LIRING-3

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Action Required: See paragraph 3.

MICROFILMED
DEC 9 1968
DOC. MICRO. SER.

1. Forwarded herewith is one copy each for Headquarters and the Guatemala City Station of the report covering the debriefing by Wallace B. ROWTON of LIRING-3 on his imprisonment in Guatemala. Identity A of ROWTON's report is a Guatemalan rebel living in Mexico who, as addressees will remember, accidentally shot himself in the leg a few days prior to his departure for Guatemala with LIRING-3. This wound may have convinced the Guatemalans that he had recently been involved in terrorist activities and may, in fact, have cost him his life. Identity B of the same report is the nephew of Identity F, a Mexican Communist who was arrested on 19 September 1968 during a student demonstration in Mexico City; he is still in jail.

2. As this dispatch is being written, LIRING-3 has an appointment to talk at length about his experience in Guatemala with the LIRING Station Chief, LIRING-10. The general idea is for LIRING-3 to go to PBRUMEN in the hope that he can be used to penetrate PBRUMEN-sponsored subversion efforts in Latin America or become, at least for a time, a reporting source in PBRUMEN.

3. ROWTON and the undersigned are prepared to travel to Guatemala to discuss the LIRING-3 case and its Guatemalan/FAR implications whenever the Guatemala City Station, after reviewing the available information, feels ready for such discussion. Please advise.

Raymond A. Frodge

for Willard C. CURTIS

Attachments:
1. Report (1), h/w
2. Identity Sheet (1), u/s/c

CS COPY

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/atts - 1 copy each)
H/w att. 1 2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/atts - 1 copy each)
S/c att. 1

201-798301

CROSS REFERENCE TO

DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER: HMMA - 35904

DATE: 27 November 1968

CLASSIFICATION: S E C R E T

HQS FILE NUMBER: 201-798301

Liring-3

MICROFILMED
DEC 9 1968
DOC. MICRO. SER.

ATTACHMENT 1
HMMA-35904

2 November, 1968

9P

Subject: Report of Debriefing of LIRING/3.

1. Upon his return from TDY, Rowton made discreet efforts to re-establish contact with LIRING/4 as directly as possible. He checked on the last known residence of L/4 on the nights of 24 and 25 October but found the third floor apartment totally blacked out. He therefore assumed that LIRING/4 had abandoned the apartment either because of fear of the Gobernación agents that had attempted to exort 500 pesos from her (as indicated in LIFEAT take for 11 Sept) or as a result of her inability to pay the October rent, or both. Rowton checked his telephone answering service but found no message from LIRING/4 as he had hoped. Rowton concluded that L/4 must have assumed that Rowton had left the country on an extended trip, since prior to his departure (15 September) Rowton had left a note on the afternoon of 11 September under the door of the apartment advising L/4 that he had to leave the country and hoped to see her the following morning at 1000 at the "Consultorio". LIRING/4 did not show at 1000 the following morning or the next, probably because of the visit of the police to the apartment.

2. Rowton then telephoned Identity C and, on the pretext of interest in the watercolors of LIRING/3, asked srta Carillo who answered for the address of LIRING/4. Srta Carillo replied that unfortunately she did not have the present address but did have the watercolors and could show them to Rowton. She added that LIRING/3 was in Guatemala and that LIRING/4 passed by Iden C from time to time to check on the sale of the pictures. When she offered to give L/4 any message Rowton might have, the latter asked her to tell L/4 to telephone Rowton at his telephone answering service(alias)

3. Rowton then felt his only other source of L/4's whereabouts that would not attract undue attention (particularly on the part of the LIRING office) would be a check with LIRING/3's first wife, since he recalled that she had taken care of LIRING/3 and /4's child almost every week-end, even after L/3's arrest. Rowton therefore obtained the telephone used by LIRING/3 to contact his first wife (from the Station file) and decided to call on the morning of 29 October. In the meantime, however, Rowton learned from the Station that LIRING/3 had been released and returned to Mexico City on 28 October.

4. When Rowton called the number of the frist wife (apparently a small store in the Casas Grandes development), he asked for Carlito, the eldest son of L/3, (whom Rowton had already met) rather than for the first wife of L/3 whom Rowton did not know. A young girl replied saying that her brother Carlito was not at home at the moment. Rowton then explained that he was actually

h/w att. 1 HMMA-35904. CS COPY 201-795301

trying to locate LIRING/3. The child then explained that L/3, her father, was at that very moment upstairs in her home. Rowton asked her to ask her father to come to the phone as soon as possible. After a few minutes delay. L/3 came to the phone and talked directly to Rowton.

5. LIRING/3 appeared from his tone of voice to be rather depressed and showed no sign of enthusiasm in re-establishing contact with Rowton. Rowton explained that he had been out of the country and had unfortunately not been able to see L/4 before he left. Rowton added that he had returned on 19 Oct, the day after LIRING/3 himself had returned (Rowton said this for effect, since he knew it would impress L/3 to indicate that he was fully aware of the exact date of L/3's return). When he then asked to see L/3, the latter replied "Of course, when:" Rowton then made a date to 1200 that same day at the Miss restaurant on Reforma. He then telephoned **Identity D** and reserved a room for that afternoon so that he would be able to give L/3 the safehouse at their first meeting.

6. LIRING/3 appeared on time and looked reasonably well, despite his long confinement. He explained that he had been able to recuperate during the past ten days and felt much better for the normal diet he had been able to resume. The only physical effect he still felt, besides the weakness from loss of weight and dysentery, was a recurring pain in the side, which L/3 feared resulted from a fractured rib that had healed without medical treatment. He explained that he had been beaten severely on several occasions during the initial interrogation both by the military and the police and "of course" did not have the benefit of medical treatment afterwards.

7. Rowton then alleged to LIRING/3 that he had done "everything possible" to arrange his release, principally through a notional GNA colonel whose brother was a business friend of Rowton. He explained that when he had learned that L/3 had left Mexico City for the trip as planned, he telephoned the colonel and explained that a Mexican friend, LIRING/3, was planning to visit his country and might conceivably need help at some point. Rowton continued that this gesture proved to be literally a life-saver for L/3, since a few days later, the colonel called Rowton back and reported the arrest of L/3 in the company of "very dangerous persons." At the colonel's request, Rowton met with him several days later at the border and they both planned the best course of action to save L/3. Rowton alleged that the colonel on his own initiative arranged to have L/3 transferred from the frontier to Guatemala City so that he could be released from army custody to the civilian authorities. L/3 apparently accepted this story at once, remarking that it did appear strange to him that he was flown with his companions in a twin

engine plane and that the Minister of Irantion was present at the airport when they disembarked. L/3 told Rowton that he felt certain that had he remained in the control of the army he would have been executed without trial or publicity of any kind.

8. LIRING/3 added that when he arrived he found LIRING/4 in a state of virtual exhaustion from nervous tension and worry. He stated that L/4 had become understandably bitter at the attitude of the police and felt abandoned by everyone, including Rowton, during the last weeks of L/3's imprisonment. L/3 added that, as Rowton suspected, L/4 was not anxious for him to resume any kind of political activity and would try her best to dissuade him from resuming collaboration with Rowton, if it meant reinvolvement with FAR and the LIRING office. In reply to Rowton's query, L/3 stated that L/4 had managed financially since Rowton's departure by selling a few of his paintings, one of which was purchased by a "northamerican woman" at an excellent price and then donated to Bellas Artes (after the purchaser learned of L/3's plight)

9. Rowton met with L/3 again that same evening at 4000 in the saferoom of Identity D and was able to debrief him at some length under more secure conditions. LIRING/3 showed no reluctance to provide Rowton with all the details of his trip to Guatemala and to answer Rowton's questions frankly. At Rowton's request L/3 gave the following chronological account of his experiences over the past six months:

"Idens A and B and myself crossed the border on Easter Saturday(April13) without incident, Iden A using the false Mexican documents I had provided and Iden B and myself traveling with our legal passports that had been properly visaed in Mexico City before we left. I had originally planned to get Iden A across the border illegally north of Mesilla and meet him subsequently in Guatemala City, but I was dissuaded from this plan partly by Iden A's fear of traveling alone without properly visaed papers and partly by the fact that it was an important holiday and there was more than usual movement across the border.

"Incidentally Iden B joined us at the invitation of Iden A when Iden B expressed an interest in concluding an interview with Nestor Valle of FAR (the first interview had occurred some months previously during Iden B's last trip to Guatemala). Iden B did this on his own initiative to impress his uncle with his newspaper initiative and ability, and Iden A felt that bringing Iden B with him would enhance his own prestige in the eyes of the FAR headquarter officials he hoped to meet. I myself realized that Iden B's presence was not altogether unfavorable for me, since if anything happened I would not have to bear the responsibility alone but could share it with Iden B.

"In any event we passed through the Mexican immigration and customs without difficulty, although Iden A was told that he would have to stop off at the Guatemalan consul's office (strangely enough on the Guatemalan side) to get a tourist visa, which was described as a "mere formality". At this point Iden A began to show signs of nervousness and refused to enter the Consul's office alone. I therefore accompanied him to calm him down. We found that the Consul was a colonel in the GNA, and a very observant person, despite his rather polite treatment of Iden A. Iden A, incidentally had dyed his hair at my suggestion to reduce the chances of his being spotted by an acquaintance.

"But I forgot to mention that the real reason for Iden A's nervousness was an unfortunate incident at the immigration office shortly before. One of the immigration officers mistook Iden B for a person wanted for some sort of fraud and insisted on examining him closely and even checking his height with a tape measure. Fortunately Iden B proved to be several centimeters taller than the person wanted by the police and we were alowed to pass on. This delay however did attract considerable attention and produced a state of nervous tension in both Iden A and, of course, B.

"Iden A was granted the tourist visa without delay and we proceeded to the Customs, about 200 yeards up the road. Iden A, who had only a briefcase, refused to enter the Customs shed, but waited for us in a nearby cafe to keep as calm as possible. Iden B and I had to open our valises in Customs for the routine check. It was then that I myself got a nervous shock. My own bag had nothing but clothing in it, but Iden B was carrying a camera, a Czech recording machine, Soviet-made hiking boots, and, worst of all, a Mexican magazine between the pages of which he had concealed (very crudely) several FAR propaganda leaflets (which he told me later he was carrying to "impress" the FAR with the work being done on his uncle's press in Mexico City). Altho the Customs officers asked no questions and allowed Iden B to proceed I am certain that they spotted the leaflets and noted the rather unusual equipment Iden B was carrying with him.

"When we joined Iden A at the cafe, he asked anxiously, 'No hubo clavo?' and when we assured him that there hadn't been an problem ('clavo') he regained his composture. We then hailed a small, six-passenger autobus that was bound for Huehuetenango with three passengers (Guatemalans) already aboard. About 3 kilometers outside the town (Mesilla) the driver told us we were approaching the military outpost of 'El Cable' and that we would be checked again. He, to our surprise, warned us to

hide any guns we might have been carrying "under the seats" since the military would search the bus. Just then we saw a car pass us a rather high speed and recognized the Consul in the driver's seat. Iden A's nervousness seized him again and he shoved into my hand his Guatemalan passport and a few other of his legal papers. I quickly put them into my pocket and hoped that I would not be searched.

"When we reached the control point, we saw the Consul, by then wearing a side-arm, leaning against his car, waiting for the arrival of the bus. As soon as we stopped, he shouted to a nearby soldier to have the Colonel Commandant come out. When the soldier refused saying that it was more proper for him, the Consul, to go to the office of the Commandant, the Consul insisted in a rather stern voice. Finally the soldier disappeared and returned in a few minutes with the commandant, a young officer of excellent bearing. After a few minutes conversation with the Consul, the Commandant ordered us (Iden A,B and myself) out of the bus. The driver then returned our fare and was allowed to proceed on to Huehuetenango, after we had removed our luggage. We then found ourselves surround by soldiers and escorted into the "El Cable' compound. There we were assigned to different prefabricated huts and questioned separately. At an opportune moment, when the soldier guarding me (through the window of the hut) went off to get me some water, I managed to squeeze the passport of Iden A and his other papers through a crack in the floor boards where I felt sure that they would not be discovered.

"The Commandant, who was fairly polite and even gave us coffee, asked me the purpose of my trip and how well I knew the other two. I replied that I was simply sightseeing and that I had known Iden B in Mexico City since he was a well-known catedrático at the University but that I had run into him at San Cristóbal. With regard to Iden A, I alleged that I did not know him and had simply run into him by chance at the Immigration Office and had joined him and Iden B on the bus to save money in traveling to Huehuetenango. The Commandant then asked me to open my valise and he proceeded to search the contents carefully. He was particularly attracted to a clay bell which Iden A or B had placed there without my knowledge. (I later found out that they had stolen three bells from the hotel at San Cristóbal in a spoof and had put one on my valise). I told the Commandant that I did not know the bell was in my valise but recognized it as one sold at the tourist stand of the Hotel in San Cristóbal. I subsequently realized that they thought that the bells were some sort of recognition signal and wanted to get to the bottom of the apparently perplexing matter.

"After about three or four hours an army truck arrived drived by sergeant who appeared to have been drinking heavily (it was Holy Saturday and a festive occasion in the village). He ordered us tied hand and foot and literally thrown into the back of the truck. He then took off at reckless speed without any thought of the pain he was causing us (our hands were tied behind our back and we were forced to remain lying on the floor of the truck). At one point he stopped and instructed the soldiers to shoot us if we made any attempt to escape. Later one of the soldiers brutally kicked Eden A in the side when he moved suddenly, apparently to ease the strain on his arms.

"We were finally taken from the truck at the village of Buenos Aires, on the outskirts of Huehuetenango, and escorted into another military establishment where we were again interrogated. I stuck steadfastly to my original simply story, and, although I am sure that they did not believe me, there was no incriminating evidence in my luggage or on my person to serve as a básis for their suspicions. After several hours, from a good vantage point just inside the main door, where I had been deposited (still tied up) by the last interrogator, I overheard an officer sending a radio message to the Ministry in Guatemala City reporting our arrest and asking for instructions. He must have been told that a helicopter would be coming to pick us up, becasue I heard him reply that a helicopter would not be adequate and that a plane should be sent, since we were "dangerous types".

"The plane, a twin engine military aircraft, finally arrived and we were hustled into it and forced again to lie on the floor even while in flight. When we landed at the Guatemala City airport we were not removed from the plane for several hours. I recall hearing someone say,'Leave them inside. The Minister hasn't arrive yet.' Shortly thereafter, a Northamerican army officer came aboard the plane and came straight toward me. He rolled me over roughly with his boot and began interrogating me. He appeared under the impression that I was a FAR leader and at first did not believe him when I gave him my true identity. I remember him very well since he spoke with a distinct northamerican accent and had a bandage around one of his legs (apparently he had been wounded in a skirmish).

"We were finally removed from the aircraft and taken directly to the 2nd Police Corps Headquarters in Guatemala City and assigned to sell block 400, which is reserved for political prisoners (incidentally I later learned to my amazement that they are no more that 40 political prisoners in Guatemala - the others all having been executed before trial.

"In cellblock 400, of the Pavón prison where I spent several weeks awaiting arraignment, there are six cells with thick wooden bars, three on each side, in three of which Iden A, Iden B and myself were confined. I discovered that in one of the other cells was Rolando "Cebollito", an important FAR leader, and in another cell were two young FAR members, the brothers Miguel and [illegible] Juán León Barrios, who later told me that they were members of the G-2 of FAR. In the remaining cell were three members of the 'Mano Blanca', one of whom I later learned was named Inez Nufio Padilla.

"As soon as we became acquainted, 'Cebollito' made an investigation of the circumstances surrounding our arrest, as he said, on behalf of FAR. 'Cebollito' who had already been arraigned had more freedom than the others and was able to wander in and out with relative ease (I noted that the door of his cell was often unlocked). He therefore was able to talk discreetly with each of us through the bars to 'interrogate' us to his satisfaction. After several days he reported that he found Iden A's conduct 'inexcusable' and Iden B completely stupid in his unnecessarily exposing his companions with the compromising material he was carrying. He told me that he felt I had been the victim of very unfortunate circumstances and my only mistake was to have attempted to cross the frontier with the other two. He added that he intended to sent his report to FAR via his mother, who was able to visit him more or less regularly. Several weeks later I saw 'Cebollito' being pushed into an army truck and learned from the León brothers that he was taken out and executed before his trial was completed. The last time I saw Iden A was about April 25, when he waved to me from his cell (I had already been taken out of cellblobk 400 and moved into the large compound).

"Fortunately the Mexican Consul, Serrano, recognized my family name and told me that he was a friend of my father. He did what he could to help me get messages out to my wife and to supply me with materials to write and do some painting. Also of great help and comfort to me was Mario Armando Amador, the First Secretary, whose life, I learned later, was threatened befause of the interest he took in me and Iden B. Armando confided to me on one occasion that he had to be very discreet in sending messages to Relacions Exteriores in Mexico since the "Northamericans decipher and read everything we send." He therefore had to send everything concerning me by diplomatic pouch despite the delay involved.

"I managed to get a message out to the press in a very strange way. I

had gotten to know one of the 'Mano Blanca' (the oldest of the trio that had been arrested for the kidnaping of the Archbishop), Inez Nufio Padilla, and felt he was sympathetic toward us. I therefore prepared a brief message on the inside of an empty package of cigarettes 'To whom it may Concern' stating that we had been arrested and were being held unjustly, and on the day that the trio were called out to appear in court, where I knew there would be newspaper reports present I slipped the note to Nufio with a plea that he give it to a reporter as soon as he could. I later learned that he did so and that my note appeared verbatim in the local press.

"Several weeks later the mother and wife of Iden B visited us and either because of what he told them or on their own initiative spread the nasty rumor that I had been responsible for the arrest and that I was a Trotskyite (the wife and mother of Iden B are both members of the CP Mexico). This proved very disquieting to me but I was reassured to some extent by the León brothers who told me that they would 'investigate' and clear up the matter as soon as they could. About two months later, theytook me aside in the prison compound and show me a report they stated they received from "FAR sources in Mexico". In this report I was described as "an anarchist without party affiliations, of good character and conduct, trustworthy and responsible but difficult to control". Iden B, on the other hand was described as "an opportunist, without sincere ideology, in reality a bourgeois of superficial convictions."

"From that moment the León brothers took me into their confidence. They revealed that FAR had broken completely with the CP Guatemala because of complete dissatisfaction with the party's handling of support matters. They pointed out to me Francisco Corado in the compound as the CP representative and commented that all financial help from the outside was being channeled through him despite the fact that he distribute the aid to his friends who were not even party members and neglected everyone else. The brothers also told me that FAR had stripped César Montes of all his authority and that he was in exile in Mexico. They commented that Montes had spent almost all his time outside Guatemala and had not accomplished the missions he was sent on. They also stated that financial and material aid from Cuba had dwindled to almost nothing because of FAR refusal to accept Cuban terms. They explained that the Cubans insisted on sending their experts to direct everything and channeled all their financial aid through the CP Guatemala.

"The León brothers also suggested that if and when I returned to

Mexico, I should maintain contact with a "genuine FAR representative" and that I should do everything possible to convince the Cubans to take a more realistic position vis-a-vis their revolution. I welcomed this suggestion, assuming then that I could and would make a trip to Havana as soon as feasible. Since I was not certain of my wife's whereabouts, I asked the brothers to have their representative in Mexico, whom they described simply as 'Pavel', contact me through Identity C. I suggested that 'Pavel' could contact the director, Identity E or her secretary sra Carillo, and introduce himself as a person representing a certain sra Violeta who was interested in purchasing the watercolors I had already sent to my wife. 'Pavel' could then ask for my address or leave a message telling me where I could contact him. They agreed and promised to communicate with me as soon after my release as possible.

"The trial of myself and Iden B was nothing more than a formality, since the judge was well aware that the prosecution had no solid evidence (fortunately for us Iden A had already been eliminated and could not testify even under duress). Since at least three attempts had been made to execute us before the trial (on the well-known pretext of removing us from the prison and assassinating us while supposedly attempting to escape), I demand an escort after the acquittal to accompany us to the airport. We arrived in Mexico City on 18 October and I was met there by my wife."

10. After relating the above, LIRING/3 asked Rowton to keep the proposed contact with 'Pavel' in strictest confidence, particularly from his wife, since he felt she would be very upset to learn that he, L/3, was planning to resume political activity on behalf of FAR. In reply to Rowton's query, L/3 stated that as yet he had not had time to recontact anyone in the LIRING office but promised to do so as soon as the opportunity presented itself. He agreed with Rowton that LIRING/4 would be the logical person to arrange a discreet meeting with LIRING/10. L/3 told Rowton incidentally that L/4 had protested to LIRING/10 some weeks previously that Rodolfo Reyes was spreading rumors to the effect that the LIRING office did not trust LIRING/4. L/10 replied indignantly that if there was anyone they did not trust it was Rodolfo Reyes, and that L/4 could bring him in and L/10 would tell him such to his face.

Wallace B. Rowton

14-00000

SECRET Attachment #2
HMMA-35904

Identity Sheet

Identity A: Francisco *LARA (201-[illegible])

Identity B: Carlos *PERSABAL Marcue CIT: Mexico

Identity C: Salon de la Plastica Mexicana A: Mexico

Identity D: Suites Marne

Identity E: /Sra/ Lourdes *CHOUMACERO Sex: F

Identity F: Manuel MARCUE Pardinas, former editor of Politica magazine

Re: connection with Subj of 201-798301

SECRET

S/c att: 1
HMMA-35904

CS COPY

201-798301

S E C R E T X

Chief, WH Division

Chief of Station, Guatemala City

Chief of Station, Mexico City

PBRUMEN/LIRING-3

Action Required: See paragraph 3.

1. Forwarded herewith is one copy each for Headquarters and the Guatemala City Station of the report covering the debriefing by Wallace B. ROWTON of LIRING-3 on his imprisonment in Guatemala. Identity A of ROWTON's report is a Guatemalan rebel living in Mexico who, as addressees will remember, accidentally shot himself in the leg a few days prior to his departure for Guatemala with LIRING-3. This wound may have convinced the Guatemalans that he had recently been involved in terrorist activities and may, in fact, have cost him his life. Identity B of the same report is the nephew of Identity F, a Mexican Communist who was arrested on 19 September 1968 during a student demonstration in Mexico City; he is still in jail.

2. As this dispatch is being written, LIRING-3 has an appointment to talk at length about his experience in Guatemala with the LIRING Station Chief, LIRING-10. The general idea is for LIRING-3 to go to PBRUMEN in the hope that he can be used to penetrate PBRUMEN-sponsored subversion efforts in Latin America or become, at least for a time, a reporting source in PBRUMEN.

3. ROWTON and the undersigned are prepared to travel to Guatemala to discuss the LIRING-3 case and its Guatemalan/FAR implications whenever the Guatemala City Station, after reviewing the available information, feels ready for such discussion. Please advise.

Attachments:
1. Report (1), h/w
2. Identity Sheet (1), u/s/c

for Willard C. CURTIS

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/atts - 1 copy each)
2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/atts - 1 copy each)

HMMA - 35904 27 November 1968

S E C R E T 201-7[illegible]8301

14-00000

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S E C R E T 280100Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8228
MEXI

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY INFO JMCOBRA

27 Nov 68 IN 43465

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REFS A. MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN*)

B. GUATEMALA CITY 9739 (IN 40612)

WH/1 INDEX

1. LIRING-3 WRITTEN REPORT PER LIRING-9 REQUEST WAS REVIEWED BY STATION WITH ASSISTANCE LEONARD S. TORMET. REPORT LIMITED TO ACTUAL EXPERIENCES WHILE INCARCERATED GUATEMALA CITY AND INFORMATION ACTUALLY RECEIVED FROM FAR MEMBERS IN SAME JAIL. LIRING-3 BRIEFED TO DECLARE HIMSELF READY HELP GUAT REBELS FOR IDEOLOGICAL REASONS AND AT SAME TIME IMPLY HE IN NEED MATERIAL HELP AFTER LONG IMPRISONMENT.

MICROFILMED DEC 19 1968 DOC. MICRO. SER.

2. LIRING-9 WAS WAITING AT LIRING GATE 1730 HOURS WHEN LIRING-3 ARRIVED WITH REPORT. MEETING HELD IN BACK ROOM CONSULATE AND LIMITED TO LIRING-3 AND LIRING-9. FOLL HIGH POINTS THIS MEETING:

A. LIRING-9 DID NOT READ REPORT BUT HAD LIRING-3 GIVE HIM MAIN POINTS ORALLY. APPEARED MOST INTERESTED IN LIRING-3 STATEMENTS ON HOW GUAT REBELS FEEL TOWARDS PBRUMEN. NODDED WHEN LIRING-3 STATED WHAT REBELS NEED IS ADEQUATRE FUNDS NOT ADDITIONAL

CS COPY

Liring/4
B. 201-818842 *NO RECORD IN C/S 28NOV 68 0300Z.

B. 201-340938 Liring/9

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27 Nov 68 Liring/3
201-798301

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INFO

FILE, VR

PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8228 S E C R E T

MEN (MEANING UDVISORS).

B. LIRING-3 EXPLAINED HE ANARCHIST, LEFTIST, IDELAIST AND FELT TRUE REVOLUTION GOING ON GUATEMALA. THIS WHY HE INTERESTED IN HELPING GUAT REBELS ANY WAY POSSIBLE. THIS SEEMED SATISFY LIRING-9.

C. LIRING-9 AGAIN MENTIONED TRIP TO HIS COUNTRY FOR LIRING-3 AND WIFE AND AGREED ARRANGE FOR PASSAGE LIRING-4 ON PERUMEN SHIP TO CANADA SO LIRING-4 COULD SEE FATHER WHO NEW YORK RESIDENT AND ILL. LIRING-9 ADAMANT LIRING-4 SHOULD NOT SEEK VISA TO UNITED STATES AS THIS WOULD EXPOSE HER TO "GRILLING" BY LOCAL EMBASSY.

D. LIRING-9 MADE VAGUE PROMISES HELP LIRING-3 IN CURRENT DIFFICULT SITUATION ALTHOUGH NO FINANCIAL HELP MENTIONED.

E. LIRING-3 WAS REQUESTED TO RETURN TO LIRING 2 DEC FOR FUTHER TALKS. LIRING-9 WAS SHOWN LETTERS REVENTLY RECEIVED BY LIRING-3 FROM FAR CONTACTS IS GUATEMALA. LIRING-3 DECLINEDO HOWEVER TO LET HIM KEEP THEM AND LIRING-9 MADE NO ATTEMPT COPY THEM.

3. POUCHING LIRING-3 REPORT. WILL CABLE FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. APPRECIATE TORMET VISIT AND ASSISTANCE.

4. FILE 201-798301.

S E C R E T

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INFO FILE VR. C/R/SD, C/WH/COG5, C/CI, C/FI2, C/SOD3 C/CS/SGO

LIRING-3 201

S E C R E T 280132Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8223

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY INFO JMCOBRA

27 Nov 68 IN 43465

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REFS A. MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN*

B. GUATEMALA CITY 9739 (IN 40612)

201 WH/1 file

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ACTION [ ] RID COPY

INFO

FILE, VR

PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8228 S E C R E T

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S E C R E T 280122Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8228

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY INFO JMCOBRA

27 Nov 68 IN 43465

RYBAT PERUMEN LIRING-3

REFS A. MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN *

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201 CC: LIRING-9 201 WH file.

1. LIRING-3 WRITTEN REPORT PER LIRING-9 REQUEST WAS REVIEWED BY STATION WITH ASSISTANCE LEONARD S. TORMET. REPORT LIMITED TO ACTUAL EXPERIENCES WHILE INCARCERATED GUATEMALA CITY AND INFORMATION ACTUALLY RECEIVED FROM FAR MEMBERS IN SAME JAIL. LIRING-3 BRIEFED TO DECLARE HIMSELF READY HELP GUAT REBELS FOR IDEOLOGICAL REASONS AND AT SAME TIME IMPLY HE IN NEED MATERIAL HELP AFTER LONG IMPRISONMENT.

2. LIRING-9 WAS WAITING AT LIRING GATE 1730 HOURS WHEN LIRING-3 ARRIVED WITH REPORT. MEETING HELD IN BACK ROOM CONSULATE AND LIMITED TO LIRING-3 AND LIRING-9. FOLL HIGH POINTS THIS MEETING:

A. LIRING-9 DID NOT READ REPORT BUT HAD LIRING-3 GIVE HIM MAIN POINTS ORALLY. APPEARED MOST INTERESTED IN LIRING-3 STATEMENTS ON HOW GUAT REBELS FEEL TOWARDS PBRUMEN. NODDED WHEN LIRING-3 STATED WHAT REBELS NEED IS ADEQUATRE FUNDS NOT ADDITIONAL

* NO RECORD IN C/S 28 NOV 68 0300Z.

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INFO

FILE, VR.

PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 3228 S E C R E T

MEN (MEANING UDVISORS).

B. LIRING-3 EXPLAINED HE ANARCHIST, LEFTIST, IDELAIST AND FELT TRUE REVOLUTION GOING ON GUATEMALA. THIS WHY HE INTERESTED IN HELPING GUAT REBELS ANY WAY POSSIBLE. THIS SEEMED SATISFY LIRING-9.

C. LIRING-9 AGAIN MENTIONED TRIP TO HIS COUNTRY FOR LIRING-3 AND WIFE AND AGREED ARRANGE FOR PASSAGE LIRING-4 ON PERUMEN SHIP TO CANADA SO LIRING-4 COULD SEE FATHER WHO NEW YORK RESIDENT AND ILL. LIRING-9 ADAMANT LIRING-4 SHOULD NOT SEEK VISA TO UNITED STATES AS THIS WOULD EXPOSE HER TO "GRILLING" BY LOCAL EMBASSY.

D. LIRING-9 MADE VAGUE PROMISES HELP LIRING-3 IN CURRENT DIFFICULT SITUATION ALTHOUGH NO FINANCIAL HELP MENTIONED.

E. LIRING-3 WAS REQUESTED TO RETURN TO LIRING 2 DEC FOR FUTHER TALKS. LIRING-9 WAS SHOWN LETTERS REVENTLY RECEIVED BY LIRING-3 FROM FAR CONTACTS IS GUATEMALA. LIRING-3 DECLINEDO HOWEVER TO LET HIM KEEP THEM AND LIRING-9 MADE NO ATTEMPT COPY THEM.

3. POUCHING LIRING-3 REPORT. WILL CABLE FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. APPRECIATE TORMET VISIT AND ASSISTANCE.

4. FILE 201-798301.

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SECRET 262200Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8283 26 Nov 68 IN 42426

GUATEMALA CITY, INFO DIRECTOR

ADMIN

REF: GUATEMALA CITY 3741 (IN 40676)

1. TORMET WILL RETURN GUATEMALA PAA 501, 27 NOV.

2. APPRECIATE HIS VISIT, WHICH VERY HELPFUL.

SECRET

Whl file: LIRING-3 201
201-793301

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DC
~~Hemmingdar~~ Kaise

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GUAT

S E C R E T 232206Z NOV 62 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9739

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR

RYBAT PBRUMEN

REFS: A. MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN

23 Nov 68 IN 40612

B. DIRECTOR 53469

1. LEONARD S. TORMET (IDEN) GUATEMALA CITY CASE OFFICER TO TRAVEL MEXICO CITY FOR REF DISCUSSIONS. TORMET ATTEMPTING BOOK PASSAGE PAN AM FLT 502, 24 NOV. WILL ADVISE FIRM ETA BY CABLE 24 NOV. REQUEST MEET AND ACCOMODATE.

2. FILE: 201-798301

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SECRET

23 Nov 68

201-798301

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S E C R E T 232215Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9740

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR

RYBAT PBRUMEN

REF: GUATEMALA CITY 9739 (IN 40612)

23 Nov 68 IN 40611

IDEN: BARRY G. ROYDEN.

S E C R E T

WH/l file: LIRING-3 201

201-198301

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C/WH/1
9354
23 November 1963

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IMMEDIATE
MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY ROUTINE: JMCOBRA

CITE DIRECTOR 53469

RYBAT/PERUMEN

REFS: A. GUATEMALA CITY 9736 (IN 40291) *

B. MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN 40273) **

C. DIRECTOR 47408 *** (NOT SENT JMCOBRA)

1. AGREE POINTS REF A PARA 1 A THRU E BUT BELIEVE TIME NOW PROPITIOUS FOR DIRECT GUAT CITY STATION REP DISCUSSION WITH MEXICO CITY STATION ON GUAT INSURGENCY SITUATION AND REPORTED CUBAN [illegible] INVOLVEMENT. FOR THAT REASON, UNLESS IMPORTANT NEEDS TO CONTRARY, RECOMMEND KNOWLEDGEABLE GUAT CITY STATION CASE OFFICER PROCEED MEXICO AS REQUESTED REF B.

2. BELIEVE AS STATED REF C THAT LIRING-3 SHOULD BE FACTUAL AS POSSIBLE IN PREPARING REPORT ON CONTACTS AND EXPERIENCES WHILE IMPRISONED GUATEMALA, AND IN GIVING OPINION ON HOW CUBANS [illegible] HAVE FAILED THERE. TO MAKE HIM APPEAR TOO KNOWLEDGEABLE ON FAR/PGT COULD AROUSE SUSPICIONS LIRING-9 AND COLLEAGUES.

3. IT SEEMS POSSIBLE LIRING-9 MAY HAVE BEEN RELATING DIRECTLY TO ACTIVITIES OF HECTOR SANCHEZ GONZALEZ PER MEXICO CITY 7744 (IN 18686) IF LIREBEL-2 REPORT INDEED BASED ON FACT.

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DC/WH/1

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CITE DIRECTOR 53469

PAGE TWO

MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY

4. OBJECTIVE, OF COURSE, IS TO [illegible] OF GUAT [illegible] FORCES AND NEGATE ANY CUBAN EFFORT THERE. AT SAME TIME DESIRE ENTICE ~~[illegible]~~ CUBANS TO EXPOSE HAND AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WITHIN FEASIBLE KNOWLEDGEABILITY LIRING-3. ACCORDINGLY BELIEVE DETAILED DISCUSSION IN MEXICO WITH GUAT STATION C/O AT THIS TIME WOULD BE PROFITABLE AND WELL WORTH VISIT.

END OF MESSAGE

Hqs Comments: *) References attached
**)
***)

WH/COG: Paul Oberst (telecon)
WH/2: Jack Murray (draft)

Chief, WHD
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W. J. Kaufman
C/WH/1

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9354
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IMMEDIATE

MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY ROUTINE: JMCOBRA

CITE DIRECTOR 53469

RYBAT/PBRUMEN

REFS: A. GUATEMALA CITY 9750 (IN 40491) *

B. MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN 40273) **

C. DIRECTOR 47408 *** (NOT SENT JMCOBRA)

23 Nov. 68

1. AGREE POINTS REF A PARA 1 A THRU E BUT BELIEVE TIME NOW PROPITIOUS FOR DIRECT GUAT CITY STATION REP DISCUSSION WITH MEXICO CITY STATION ON GUAT INSURGENCY SITUATION AND ~~[struck]~~ REPORTED CUBAN INVOLVEMENT. FOR THAT REASON, UNLESS IMPORTANT NEEDS TO CONTRARY, RECOMMEND KNOWLEDGEABLE GUAT CITY STATION CASE OFFICER PROCEED MEXICO AS REQUESTED REF B.

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MEXICO CITY GUATEMALA CITY

4. OBJECTIVE, OF COURSE, IS TO BREAK UP GUAT INSURGENCY FORCES AND NEGATE ANY CUBAN EFFORT THERE. AT SAME TIME DESIRE ENTICE ~~[illegible]~~ CUBANS TO EXPOSE HAND AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WITHIN FEASIBLE KNOWLEDGEABILITY LIRING-3. ACCORDINGLY BELIEVE DETAILED DISCUSSION IN MEXICO WITH GUAT STATION C/O AT THIS TIME WOULD BE PROFITABLE AND WELL WORTH VISIT.

END OF MESSAGE

Hqs Comments: *) References attached
**)
***)

WH/COG: Paul Oberst (telecon)

WH/2: Jack Murray (draft)

Chief, WHD

W. J. Kaufman
C/WH/1

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S E C R E T 232206Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9739

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR

RYBAT PBRUMEN

REFS: A. MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN

23 Nov 68 IN 40612

B. DIRECTOR 53469

1. LEONARD S. TORMET (IDEN) GUATEMALA CITY CASE OFFICER TO TRAVEL MEXICO CITY FOR REF DISCUSSIONS. TORMET ATTEMPTING BOOK PASSAGE PAN AM FLT 502, 24 NOV. WILL ADVISE FIRM ETA BY CABLE 24 NOV. REQUEST MEET AND ACCOMODATE.

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SECRET 230301Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9736

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR, ROUTINE JMCOBRA

RYBAT/PBRUMEN/LIRING-3

22Nov68 IN 40291

REF: MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN *)

1. BECAUSE LIRING-3 COULD NOT LOGICALLY HAVE GAINED DETAILED INSIGHT INTO INSURGENCY MOVEMENT IN GUATEMALA DURING ENCARCERATION, DO NOT BELIEVE IT NECESSARY FOR GUATEMALA CITY STATION OFFICER PROVIDE EXTENSIVE AND DETAILED BRIEFING FOR PREPARATION LIRING-3 REPORT. SUGGEST FOLLOWING GENERAL GUIDELINES, SUBJECT TO HQS APPROVAL, WHICH OSTENSIBILY TO BE IMPRESSIONS OF LIRING-3 BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH FAR LEADERS WHILE IN JAIL.

A. EMPHASIZE FRAGMENTATION, DISORGANIZATION AND COMPETITION OF INSURGENT FORCES HAVE SERIOUSLY DISRUPTED INSURGENT MOVEMENT, WHICH NOW STAGNANT.

B. LEADERSHIP IS OBVIOUSLY IMMATURE AND INCAPABLE OF ORGANIZING AN EFFECTIVE MOVEMENT.

C. ACCORDING ROLANDO "CEBOLLITA" FAR FUNDS MISUSED BY LEADERS IN "NON-REVOLUTIONARY WAYS."

D. RECENT FAR TERRORISM, WHICH FOR MOST PART ILL-CONCEIVED AND NOT PART OF OVERALL STRATEGY, HAS WEAKENED MOVEMENT THROUGH

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PAGE 2 GUATEMALA CITY 9736

LOSSES FROM GOG RETALIATION. GOG ABLE TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IMPULSIVE ACTIONS BY FAR MEMBERS WHO FAILED MAKE ADEQUATE PREPARATIONS BEFOREHAND.

E. ESSENTIAL THAT NEW LEADERSHIP CADRE BE FOUND TO REPLACE PRESENT COMMAND IF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TO SUCCEED.

2. FYI: OBJECTIVE OF ABOVE IS TO PAINT AS DISMAL A PICTURE AS POSSIBLE FOR CUBANS, AND TO SUGGEST THAT LATTER IMPOSE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL BE UNACCEPTABLE TO PRESENT INSURGENT LEADERSHIP. FEEL THAT ANY ATTEMPT BY CUBANS TO REPLACE CURRENT LEADERSHIP WOULD FURTHER FRACTIONALIZE AND DEMORALIZE INSURGENTS.

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S E C R E T 230301Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9736

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR, ROUTINE JMCOBRA

RYBAT/PBRUMEN/LIRING-3

22 Nov 68 IN 40291

REF: MEXICO CITY 8133 (IN)*

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D. RECENT FAR TERRORISM, WHICH FOR MOST PART ILL-CONCEIVED AND NOT PART OF OVERALL STRATEGY, HAS WEAKENED MOVEMENT THROUGH

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PAGE 2 GUATEMALA CITY 9736

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3. NO INDEX. FILE: 201-798301.

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S E C R E T 230032Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8159

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 7908 (IN 25321)

22 Nov 68 IN 40273

1. DURING LONG DISCUSSION LIRING-9 HAD AT LIRING WITH LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1730 HOURS 26 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCARCERATED. WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PBRUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9 EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND HAD DONE MANY THINGS ~~WORING~~ WRONG. HE ADDED LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT ON PAPER HOW PBRUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND GIVE HIS OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT LIRING-3 KNOWS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETTE FIRK HAD FAR MISSION BEFORE HER DEATH.

2. LIRING-9 STATED CHIEF LIRING "DOES NOT HAVE VERY MUCH TO DO WITH THESE THINGS" (CLANDESTINE ACTIVITIES IN GUATEMALA) AND "HIS OPINION DOES NOT MATTER." SAID WOULD ARRANGE FOR

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8159 S E C R E T

MEETING AT 1730 ON 25 NOV WITH "SOME MY COLLEAGUES" SO CAN DISCUSS LIRING-3 REPORT AND SUGGESTIONS AT LENGTH " IN BETTER PLACE FOR PRIVATE TALK." WHEN LIRING-3 EXPRESSED HOPE HE MIGHT AMPLIFY HIS REPORT IN PERSON TO [illegible] OFFICIAL, LIRING-9 SUGGESTED HE MIGHT BE INVITED FOR CULTURAL EXPOSITION TO MAKE TRIP APPEAR INNOCUOUS AND OFFERED TO MAKE ALL NECESSARY ARRANGE-MENTS.

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4. FILE 201-798391.

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359

SECRET 232032Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8159

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 7900 (IN 25321)

22 Nov 68 IN 40273

1. DURING LONG DISCUSSION LIRING-9 HAD AT LIRING WITH LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1730 HOURS 26 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCARCERATED. WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PBRUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9 EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND HAD DONE MANY THINGS ~~WORNG~~ WRONG. HE ADDED LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT ON PAPER HOW PBRUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND GIVE HIS OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT LIRING-3 KNOWS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETTE FIRK HAD FAR MISSION BEFORE HER DEATH.

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8159 S E C R E T

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4. FILE 201-798321.

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S E C R E T 230232Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8159

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 7980 (IN 25321)

22 Nov 68 IN 40273

WH/1

1. DURING LONG DISCUSSION LIRING-9 HAD AT LIRING WITH LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1730 HOURS 26 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCARCERATED. WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PBRUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9 EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND HAD DONE MANY THINGS ~~WORING~~ WRONG. HE ADDED LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT ON PAPER HOW PBRUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND GIVE HIS OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT LIRING-3 KNOWS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETTE FIRK HAD FAR MISSION BEFORE HER DEATH.

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22 Nov 68
201-798301

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S E C R E T 230332Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8159

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

RYBAT PERUMEN LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 7902 (IN 25321)

22 Nov 68 IN 40273

1. DURING LONG DISCUSSION LIRING-9 HAD AT LIRING WITH LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1730 HOURS 26 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCARCERATED. WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PBRUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9 EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND HAD DONE MANY THINGS ~~WORING~~ WRONG. HE ADDED LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT ON PAPER HOW PERUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND GIVE HIS OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT LIRING-3 KNOWS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETTE FIRK HAD FAR MISSION BEFORE HER DEATH.

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8159 S E C R E T

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4. FILE 201-798301.

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S E C R E T 230031Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 3160

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY ,DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

22 Nov 68 IN 40270

DIRECTOR

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF MEXICO CITY 3159 [IN 40273]

1. IDEN IS FRANCIS SHERRY, PHONE NO. 20-76-66.

2. FILE 201-798301.

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SECRET 230031Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 8160

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

22 Nov 68 IN 40270

DIRECTOR

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF MEXICO CITY 8159 [IN 40273]

1. IDEN IS FRANCIS SHERRY, PHONE NO. 20-76-66.

2. FILE 201-758301.

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IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

22 Nov 68 IN 40270

DIRECTOR

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF MEXICO CITY 8159 [IN 40273]

1. IDEN IS FRANCIS SHERRY, PHONE NO. 20-76-66.

2. FILE 201-798301.

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PRECEDENCE

S E C R E T 230301Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9736

GUAT

WH/1

IMMEDIATE MEXICO CITY INFO IMMEDIATE DIRECTOR, ROUTINE JMCOBRA

RYBAT/PBRUMEN/LIRING-3

22 NOV 68 IN 40291

REF: MEXICO CITY 8159 (IN *)

1. BECAUSE LIRING-3 COULD NOT LOGICALLY HAVE GAINED DETAILED INSIGHT INTO INSURGENCY MOVEMENT IN GUATEMALA DURING ENCARCERATION, DO NOT BELIEVE IT NECESSARY FOR GUATEMALA CITY STATION OFFICER PROVIDE EXTENSIVE AND DETAILED BRIEFING FOR PREPARATION LIRING-3 REPORT. SUGGEST FOLLOWING GENERAL GUIDELINES, SUBJECT TO HQS APPROVAL, WHICH OSTENSIBILY TO BE IMPRESSIONS OF LIRING-3 BASED ON CONVERSATIONS WITH FAR LEADERS WHILE IN JAIL.

A. EMPHASIZE FRAGMENTATION, DISORGANIZATION AND COMPETITION OF INSURGENT FORCES HAVE SERIOUSLY DISRUPTED INSURGENT MOVEMENT, WHICH NOW STAGNANT.

B. LEADERSHIP IS OBVIOUSLY IMMATURE AND INCAPABLE OF ORGANIZING AN EFFECTIVE MOVEMENT.

C. ACCORDING ROLANDO "CEBOLLITA" FAR FUNDS MISUSED BY LEADERS IN "NON-REVOLUTIONARY WAYS."

D. RECENT FAR TERRORISM, WHICH FOR MOST PART ILL-CONCEIVED AND NOT PART OF OVERALL STRATEGY, HAS WEAKENED MOVEMENT THROUGH

* NO RECORD IN C/S 23 NOV 68 0400Z. Liring-3

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22 Nov 68

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PAGE 2 GUATEMALA CITY 9736

LOSSES FROM GOG RETALIATION. GOG ABLE TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IMPULSIVE ACTIONS BY FAR MEMBERS WHO FAILED MAKE ADEQUATE PREPARATIONS BEFOREHAND.

E. ESSENTIAL THAT NEW LEADERSHIP CADRE BE FOUND TO REPLACE PRESENT COMMAND IF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT TO SUCCEED.

2. FYI: OBJECTIVE OF ABOVE IS TO PAINT AS DISMAL A PICTURE AS POSSIBLE FOR CUBANS, AND TO SUGGEST THAT LATTER IMPOSE CONDITIONS WHICH WILL BE UNACCEPTABLE TO PRESENT INSURGENT LEADERSHIP. FEEL THAT ANY ATTEMPT BY CUBANS TO REPLACE CURRENT LEADERSHIP WOULD FURTHER FRACTIONALIZE AND DEMORALIZE INSURGENTS.

3. NO INDEX. FILE: 201-798301.

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S E C R E T 230032Z NOV 63 CITE MEXICO CITY 8159

IMMEDIATE GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR INFO JMCOBRA

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

REF: MEXICO CITY 7908 (IN 25321)

22 Nov 63 IN 40273

1. DURING LONG DISCUSSION LIRING-9 HAD AT LIRING WITH LIRING-3 ON 21 NOV LIRING-9 ASKED LIRING-3 PREPARE DETAILED WRITTEN REPORT DUE 1730 HOURS 26 NOV ON HIS EXPERIENCES GUATEMALA AND HIS CONTACTS WITH FAR PERSONALITIES WHILE INCARCERATED. WHEN LIRING-3 MENTIONED LACK ADEQUATE PBRUMEN SUPPORT LIRING-9 EXCITEDLY AGREED STATING HIS CAPITAL DID NOT UNDERSTAND FAR AND HAD DONE MANY THINGS ~~WOING~~ WRONG. HE ADDED LIRING-3 SHOULD POINT OUT ON PAPER HOW PBRUMEN HAD FAILED IN GUATEMALA AND GIVE HIS OPINION OF WHAT NEEDED. LIRING-9 ALSO VERY INTERESTED IN WHAT LIRING-3 KNOWS OF SQUABBLE BETWEEN GUAT LEFTISTS. AMONG MANY OTHER QUESTIONS LIRING-9 WANTED TO KNOW WHETHER JEANETTE FIRK HAD FAR MISSION BEFORE HER DEATH.

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 8159 S E C R E T

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4. FILE 201-798301.

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TO: Chief, WH Division
Chief of Station, Guatemala City

INFO.

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: Letter Received by LIRING-3 from Guatemala

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Action Required: FYI

Reference : MEXICO CITY-7945, 4 November 1968

1. Forwarded under separate cover for each addressee is a Xerox copy of the letter recently received by LIRING-3 from Guatemala mentioned in reference.

2. The Station hopes that contact between LIRING-3 and representatives of the Guatemalan rebels will be initiated in the near future. Station plans are to discreetly surveil meetings between LIRING-3 and his Guatemalan contact after the first such meeting.

Raymond A. Frankli...
for Willard C. CURTIS

MICROFILMED
NOV 29 1968
DOC. MICRO. SER.

Attachment:
Letter (1), u/s/c

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	HMMA - 35822	18 November 1968
	CLASSIFICATION	HQS FILE NUMBER
	SECRET	201-798301

Att HMMA-3?42

2P

Guatemala 22 de Octubre de 1968.

MICROFILMED
NOV 29 1968
DOC. MICRO. SER.

Señor :

Carlos Jurado Del Mar

Mexico D. F.

Apresiable ya distinguido amigo Carlos cuanto gusto es para mi saludarlo deseandole dicha y felicidad.

No sabé cuato me alegro que ya hayan recobrado esa angustiada libertad espero en Dios que se restablesca pronto de esa gran angustia le causaron mi País y tambien que esto no vuelva a suseder ya que eso es muy duro de soportar .

es- Es cuanto tengo qus decirle y perdone las faltas de- Ortografia que he cometido pero todavia me encuentro un tanto nervioso saludeme a [illegible] y Usted un cariñoso saludo de su amigo que verlo desea :.

Rafael [illegible]

cit : Guatemala

mi direccion es la siguiente :
2 Av. 27-57 Zona 12
Guatemala C. A.

en el sobre le voy a poner otra si es que me contesta Agalo a esta por favor. esta que le anote aca adentro

re: contact with, 201-798301.

LA DALIA AZUL
ENRIQUE PUENTE C.
ARTICULOS PARA CABALLEROS
6a. AVENIDA Y 10a. CALLE
TEL. 44-72
GUATEMALA, C. A.

1968

Señor:
Carlos Jurado del Mar
Havre. # 7
Col. Juárez Mexico D.F.

CORREO AEREO

S/c att.

ES COPY

Att HMMA-35322

Remite: Rafael [illegible] A.
11 Av. 25-22 [illegible] 12
Guatemala C. A.

SECRET X Att

Chief, WH Division
Chief of Station, Guatemala City

Chief of Station, Mexico City

Letter Received by LIRING-3 from Guatemala

Action Required: FYI

Reference : MEXICO CITY-7945, 4 November 1968

1. Forwarded under separate cover for each addressee is a Xerox copy of the letter recently received by LIRING-3 from Guatemala mentioned in reference.

2. The Station hopes that contact between LIRING-3 and representatives of the Guatemalan rebels will be initiated in the near future. Station plans are to discreetly surveil meetings between LIRING-3 and his Guatemalan contact after the first such meeting.

for Willard C. CURTIS

Attachment:
Letter (1), u/s/c

Distribution:
Orig & 2 - C/WHD (w/att - 1 copy)
2 - COS, Guatemala City (w/att - 1 copy)

HMMA - 35822 18 November 1968

SECRET 201-798301

CABLE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION | CLASSIFIED MESSAGE | TOTAL COPIES | ROUTING AND/OR INITIALS - SEEN BY
PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

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REPRODUCTION OF THIS COPY PROHIBITED

ADVANCE COPY ☐ ISSUED ☐ SLOTTED
INDEX ☐ YES ☐ NO
BY ______ AT ______ Z
CLASSIFY TO FILE NO. ______
X-REF TO FILE NO. ______
DISSEM BY 24 PER ______
FILE RID ☐ RET. TO ______ BRANCH ☐ DESTROY ☐ SIG.
ACTION C/WH-6 ☐ RID COPY
INFO FILE, VR, C/RI/SD, C/WH/COG-5, C/CI, C/FI-2.
#105

S E C R E T 272311Z NOV 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9675

MEXICO CITY INFO DIRECTOR

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING

REF A. MEXICO CITY 7945 (IN 27533)

8 Nov 68 IN 30198

B. DIRECTOR 48471

1. ESLAIR TEAM CAUTIOUS INVESTIGATION REVEALS:

A. JUAN CARRERA, WIFE DARIA GARCIA DE CARRERA, AND CHILDREN LIVE ELEVENTH AVENUE ADDRESS. HOWEVER, BROTHERS RIGOBERTO AND RAFAEL ARGUETA ARE OWNERS AND LIVED THERE PREVIOUSLY. HOUSE NOW UP FOR SALE. LUIS ARGUETA, FATHER OF BROTHERS, LIVES IN CHIQUIMULA.

B. SECOND AVENUE ADDRESS OCCUPIED BY CANDELARIO ALVARADO AND FAMILY. NO FURTHER DETAILS BUT NAME INDICATES POSSIBLE FAMILY TIE WITH ARGUETA ALVARADO BROTHERS.

C. "LA DALIA AZUL", OWNED BY ENRIQUE PUENTE C., DOES EXIST AS INDICATED REFERENCE.

2. STATION FILES SHOW:

A. NO TRACES CARRERA AND FAMILY, PUENTE, LUIS ARGUETA, OR ALVARADO.

B. PRENSA LIBRE, 28 AUGUST 1968, REPORTED THAT RAFAEL ARGUETA ALVARADO ARRESTED DURING MAY DAY PARADE 1967 AND RELEASED 27 AUGUST 1968

SECRET

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BY ______ AT ______ Z

CLASSIFY TO FILE NO ______

X-REF TO FILE NO ______

DISSEM BY ______ PER ______

FILE RID ☐ RET TO ______ BRANCH ☐ DESTROY ☐ SIG

ACTION | INFO | FILE, VR.

PAGE 2 GUATEMALA CITY 9675 S E C R E T

DUE LACK EVIDENCE.

C. ON 15 SEPT 1967 LIAISON REPORTED IT INVESTIGATING RIGOBERTO ARGUETA ALVARADO WHOSE NAME IN DOCUMENTS CAPTURED DURING RAID ON GUERRILLA MEETING SITE IN GUATEMALA CITY. HIS RESIDENCE GIVEN AS 11 AV. 25-22, ZONE 12, WHERE HE LIVED WITH MOTHER AND TWO BROTHERS. HIS SONS WORKED IN INTERIOR. PRENSA LIBRE OF 25 MAY 1967 AND 28 AUGUST 1968 REPORTED, RESPECTIVELY, THAT THIS INDIVIDUAL DETAINED 1 MAY 1967 AND REALEASED FROM PRISON AUGUST 1968 FOR LACK EVIDENCE.

D. HGGA-5975, 28 SEP 1967, REPORTED THAT LIAISON INVESTIGATING MIGUEL FRANCISCO ARGUETA ALVARADO WHO IT WAS LEARNED "HAD CONTACTS WITH SUBVERSIVE ELEMENTS WHO RESPONSIBLE FOR SABOTAGE AND TERRORIST ACTIVITIES." LIAISON MADE ATTEMPT TO RECRUIT HIM BUT "DURING INTERVIEW HE SHOWED SIGNS OF FEAR INDICATING HE BELIEVED HIMSELF TO BE ASSASSINATION TARGET."

3. FILE: 201-248317. INDEX: ALVARADO, AND RAFAEL, RIGOBERTO, MIGUEL FRANCISCO ARGUETA ALVARADO.

S E C R E T

SECRET

SECRET

NAME CHECK AND CONSOLIDATION REQUEST

FROM: FRANCIS MARY — DY-175

BRANCH: WH/1 — 3E05

EXT. 4168 — TUBE DU7

DATE: 8 Nov 1968

RID CONTROL NO.:

TO	TUBE	ROOM	DATE		INITIALS	CHECKING INSTRUCTIONS
RID/INDEX	DT-5		11/5	68	RW	
REQUESTER					②	
RID/FILES	DT 6					
REQUESTER					③	
RID/ANALYSIS	GT-7					
RID/201	DV-6					
RID/INDEX	DT-5					

EVER 2" DB NL AC

SUBJECT TO BE CHECKED

SURNAME: [illegible], Candelaria

GIVEN NAMES:

SPELLING VARIATIONS TO BE CHECKED:

201 NO. IF KNOWN:

AKA, ALIASES:

OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA *(Occupation, CP membership, I. S. affiliations, etc.)*

SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	CITIZENSHIP	RESIDENCE
M			Guat	Guatemala City, Guatemala

RESULTS OF RID/INDEX CHECK

		COMMENTS
	NO PERTINENT IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION	C20 fms NL
✓	CARD REFERENCES ATTACHED	

INSTRUCTIONS FOR REQUESTERS

IN ALL CASES

① Use gummed label; type or print all entries.

② Upon receipt of index card reproductions draw a green diagonal line across the items you do not want.

③ Edit (use green) the reproduced index cards to indicate:

(a) cards to be destroyed (mark with green D and note reason for destruction) Examples: document destroyed; duplicate or less informative than retained information; information of no CS value.

(b) corrections and additions, including infinity symbol ∞ when card includes all facts contained in the document.

201 CONSOLIDATION

1. Return this form with the card reproductions, also return pertinent documents, aperture cards and the dossier if a 201 on the subject exists.

2. For each document to be included in the consolidation (i.e., copy or cross reference to be placed in the 201 file), green D the corresponding card and check (a) or (b) below:

(a) ☐ Consolidate into 201-

(b) ☐ Open 201 file on subject.

RESTRICTION *(If any)*

CRYPTONYM ASSIGNED: YES / NO

OTHER INTERESTED DESKS OR STATIONS

FILE TO BE KEPT: RID / DESK

Note 1. Records of COI, SSU, OSS and CIG are in RID/ARD, and those that meet indexing criteria in CSHB 70-1-1 are carded in the CS Main Index. If you believe there could be additional information of value in these records, you must request an Archives Index search.

Note 2. Information concerning foreign public personalities (except military) may be available in BR/OCR x7997.

DATE:

SIGNATURE OF RECORDS OFFICER:

14-00000

ALVARADO, C.A.
DO3 ?

CIT COLOMBIA

FORMAL MEMBER OF THE INTERNATIONAL
PREPARATORY COMMITTEE FOR THE [illegible]
WYF TO BE HELD IN [illegible], AUSTRIA
JUL. 59.

200-004-233.2
DIR. [illegible] EC.
[illegible]
P3

166903

14-00000

SECRET

FROM			NAME CHECK AND CONSOLIDATION REQUEST	
FRANCIS MARV WH/1 EXT. 4168	DY-175 3E05 TUBE DU7		DATE 8 November 1968	RID CONTROL NO.

TO	TUBE	ROOM	DATE	INITIALS	CHECKING INSTRUCTIONS
RID/INDEX	DT-5		9-11-68		
REQUESTER				②	
RID/FILES	DT-6				
REQUESTER				③	
RID/ANALYSIS	GT-7				
RID/201	DW-6				
RID/INDEX	DT-5				

SUBJECT TO BE CHECKED

SURNAME	GIVEN NAMES
CABRERA, Juan	

SPELLING VARIATIONS TO BE CHECKED	201 NO. IF KNOWN

AKA, ALIASES	OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA (Occupation, CP membership, I. S. affiliations, etc.)

SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	CITIZENSHIP	RESIDENCE
M			Guat	Guatemala City, Guatemala

RESULTS OF RID/INDEX CHECK

		COMMENTS
	NO PERTINENT IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION	
✓	CARD REFERENCES ATTACHED	

INSTRUCTIONS FOR REQUESTERS

IN ALL CASES

① Use gummed label; type or print all entries.

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2. For each document to be included in the consolidation (i.e., copy or cross reference to be placed in the 201 file), green D the corresponding card and check (a) or (b) below:

(a) ☐ Consolidate into 201-

(b) ☐ Open 201 file on subject.

RESTRICTION (If any) — CRYPTONYM ASSIGNED: YES / NO

OTHER INTERESTED DESKS OR STATIONS — FILE TO BE KEPT: RID / DESK

Note 1. Records of COI, SSU, CGS and CIG are in RID/AFD, and those that meet indexing criteria in CSHB 70-1-1 are carded in the CS Main Index. If you believe there could be additional information of value in these records, you must request an Archives Index search.

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DATE	SIGNATURE OF RECORDS OFFICER

FORM 362 ... PREVIOUS

SECRET

SECRET

CARRERA, JUAN

SEX M DOB ?

056-004-109
HZP -05971
29 MAY 63
P1

CIT PANAMA
OCC ?
TREASURER OF THE CTRP. PLANS OF CP LABOR LDRS TO USE HIM IN EFFORT TO LEARN SOURCE OF FUNDS OF CRIT-AFFILIATED CTRP. /CONFEDERACION DE TRABAJADORES DE LA REPUBLICA/.

085223

1 494 004

CARRERA, Juan

63-4-7-348
(TSS-852)

Communist involved in labor matters who escaped arrest

...D FILED
OCT 52
IN MAIN INDEX

085224

CARRERAS, Juan Durall

DURALL CARRERAS, Juan — Xref

100-2-13-3134
(HFB-52295)
(Encl. 1)

THIS CARD FILED IN MAIN

085225

CARRERA, Juan Jose

201-40334-1
(HGG-165)
(11 May 53)

THIS CARD FILED
IN MAIN INDEX

085226

SECRET

SECRET

14-00000

SECRET

NAME CHECK AND CONSOLIDATION REQUEST

FROM: FRANCIS MARV, WH/1, EXT. 4168 — DY-175, 3E05, TUBE DU7

DATE: 8 November 1963

RID CONTROL NO.:

TO	TUBE	ROOM	DATE		INITIALS
RID/INDEX	DT-5		9/11/63		
REQUESTER					②
RID/FILES	DT-6				
REQUESTER					③
RID/ANALYSIS	GT-7				
RID/201	DW-6				
RID/INDEX	DT-5				

CHECKING INSTRUCTIONS

SUBJECT TO BE CHECKED

SURNAME: AGUETA, Rigoberto

GIVEN NAMES:

SPELLING VARIATIONS TO BE CHECKED:

201 NO. IF KNOWN:

AKA, ALIASES:

OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA (Occupation, CP membership, I. S. affiliations, etc.): Guatemala City resident who possibly involved in subversive activities.

SEX: M | DATE OF BIRTH: | PLACE OF BIRTH: | CITIZENSHIP: Guat | RESIDENCE: Guatemala City, Guatemala

RESULTS OF RID/INDEX CHECK

- NO PERTINENT IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION
- CARD REFERENCES ATTACHED

COMMENTS:

INSTRUCTIONS FOR REQUESTERS

IN ALL CASES

① Use gummed label; type or print all entries.

② Upon receipt of index card reproductions draw a green diagonal line across the items you do not want.

③ Edit (use green) the reproduced index cards to indicate:

(a) cards to be destroyed (mark with green D and note reason for destruction) Examples: document destroyed; duplicate or less informative than retained information; information of no CS value.

(b) corrections and additions, including infinity symbol ∞ when card includes all facts contained in the document.

201 CONSOLIDATION

1. Return this form with the card reproductions, also return pertinent documents, aperture cards and the dossier if a 201 on the subject exists.

2. For each document to be included in the consolidation (i.e., copy or cross reference to be placed in the 201 file), green D the corresponding card and check (a) or (b) below:

(a) ☐ Consolidate into 201-

(b) ☐ Open 201 file on subject.

RESTRICTION (If any) | CRYPTONYM ASSIGNED: YES / NO

OTHER INTERESTED DESKS OR STATIONS | FILE TO BE KEPT: RID / DESK

Note 1. Records of COI, SSU, OSS and CIG are in PID/AMD, and those that meet indexing criteria in CSHB 70-1-1 are carded in the CS Main Index. If you believe there could be additional information of value in these records, you must request an Archives Index search.

Note 2. Information concerning foreign public personalities (except military) may be available in BR/OCR x7997.

DATE:

SIGNATURE OF RECORDS OFFICER:

14-00000

ARGUETA, FNU
DCB ?

CIT GUATEMALA
INSPECTOR FOR FENIX BUS COMPANY GUATEMALA CITY
RECEIVED SCHOLARSHIP AND PLANNED TO LEAVE FOR
MOSCOW VIA MEXICO JAN 60.

035-004-124
HGG -01551
29 DEC 59
GUAT-00510

306942

14-00000

SECRET

NAME CHECK AND CONSOLIDATION REQUEST

FROM: FRANCIS MARY — DY-175
WH/1 — 3E05
EXT. 4168 — TUBE DU7

DATE: 8 Nov 1968

RID CONTROL NO.:

TO	TUBE	ROOM	DATE	INITIALS
RID/INDEX	DT-5		9-21-68	[illegible]
REQUESTER				(2)
RID/FILES	DT-6			
REQUESTER				(3)
RID/ANALYSIS	GT-7			
RID/201	DW-8			
RID/INDEX	DT-			

CHECKING INSTRUCTIONS

SUBJECT TO BE CHECKED

SURNAME / GIVEN NAMES: GARCIA de Carrera, Maria

SPELLING VARIATIONS TO BE CHECKED:

201 NO. IF KNOWN:

AKA, ALIASES:

OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA (*Occupation, CP membership, I. S. affiliations, etc.*): Wife of Juan CARRERA

SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	CITIZENSHIP	RESIDENCE
F			Guat	Guatemala City, Guatemala

RESULTS OF RID/INDEX CHECK

- [ ] NO PERTINENT IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION
- [ ] CARD REFERENCES ATTACHED

COMMENTS:

INSTRUCTIONS FOR REQUESTERS

IN ALL CASES

(1) Use gummed label; type or print all entries.

(2) Upon receipt of index card reproductions draw a green diagonal line across the items you do not want.

(3) Edit (use green) the reproduced index cards to indicate:

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(a) ☐ Consolidate into 201-

(b) ☐ Open 201 file on subject.

RESTRICTION (*If any*):

CRYPTONYM ASSIGNED: YES / NO

OTHER INTERESTED DESKS OR STATIONS:

FILE TO BE KEPT: RID / DESK

Note 1. Records of COI, SSU, OSS and CIG are in RID/AFD, and those that meet indexing criteria in CSHB 70-1-1 are carded in the CS Main Index. If you believe there could be additional information of value in these records, you must request an Archives Index search.

Note 2. Information concerning foreign public personalities (except military) may be available in BR/OCR x7997.

DATE:

SIGNATURE OF RECORDS OFFICER:

SECRET

FROM:		
	FRANCIS MARV	DY-175
	WH/1	3E05
BRAN	EXT. 4168	TUBE DU7

NAME CHECK AND CONSOLIDATION REQUEST

DATE: 8 Nov 1968

RID CONTROL NO.:

TO	TUBE	ROOM	DATE	INITIALS
RID/INDEX	DT-5		11/5/68	[illegible]
REQUESTER				②
RID/FILES	DT-6			
REQUESTER				③
RID/ANALYSIS	GT-7			
RID/201	DW-6			
RID/INDEX	DT-5			

CHECKING INSTRUCTIONS

Nov

SUBJECT TO BE CHECKED

SURNAME: [illegible]

GIVEN NAMES:

SPELLING VARIATIONS TO BE CHECKED

201 NO. IF KNOWN

AKA, ALIASES

OTHER IDENTIFYING DATA *(Occupation, CP membership, I. S. affiliations, etc.)*

SEX	DATE OF BIRTH	PLACE OF BIRTH	CITIZENSHIP	RESIDENCE
M			Guat	Chiquimula, Guatemala

RESULTS OF RID/INDEX CHECK

NO PERTINENT IDENTIFIABLE INFORMATION	COMMENTS: 1 [illegible] listed
✓ CARD REFERENCES ATTACHED	

INSTRUCTIONS FOR REQUESTERS

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(a) ☐ Consolidate into 201-

(b) ☐ Open 201 file on subject.

RESTRICTION *(If any)*

CRYPTONYM ASSIGNED: YES / NO

OTHER INTERESTED DESKS OR STATIONS

FILE TO BE KEPT: RID / DESK

Note 1. Records of COI, SSU, CSS and CIG are in RID/AFD, and those that meet indexing criteria in CSHB 70-1-1 are carded in the CS Main Index. If you believe there could be additional information of value in these records, you must request an Archives Index search.

Note 2. Information concerning foreign public personalities (except military) may be available in BR/OCR x7997.

DATE

SIGNATURE OF RECORDS OFFICER

ARGUETA, LUIS BARRIOS

35-4-134-7
HGGA-1558
ENCL. 1
PAGE 3

306977

ARGUETA, FNU
DOB ?

035-004-124
HGG -01551
29 DEC 59
GUAT-00510

CIT GUATEMALA
INSPECTOR FOR FENIX BUS COMPANY GUATEMALA CITY
RECEIVED SCHOLARSHIP AND PLANNED TO LEAVE FOR
MOSCOW VIA MEXICO JAN 60.

306942

SECRET

14-00000

ORIG: M. Francis/rc
UNIT: WH/1
EXT: 4137/1973
DATE: 6 November 68

MESSAGE FORM
TOTAL COPIES: 14

SECRET

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BY 3 PER #

INDEX / DESTROY / RETURN TO ___ BRANCH / FILE RID
NO INDEX / FILE IN CS FILE NO.

CONF: C/WH6 RID COPY
INFO: FILE, VR, C/WH/COG5, C/RI/AN

(classification) (date and time filed) (reference number)

SECRET

CITE DIRECTOR 40471

TO MEXICO CITY INFO: GUATEMALA CITY

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING

REFERENCE: MEXICO CITY 7945 (IN 27533)*

1. HQS TRACES NEGATIVE RE RAFAEL ARGUETA AND ENRIQUE PUENTE.

2. FILE 201-248917, 201-798301 AND 50-9-11.

6 Nov 68

MICROFILMED
DEC 12 1968
DOC. MICRO. SER.

END OF MESSAGE

WH COMMENT: *LIRING/3 received brief typewritten unsigned letter which expressed happiness his release from Guatemala jail. Envelope was from Enrique Puente Men's Store in Guatemala City and writer identified self as Rafael Argueta.

WH/COG/OPS
WH/2/G

WILLIAM V. BROE
C/WHD

W. J. KAUFMAN
C/WH/1

CS COPY

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

Liring-3

SECRET

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic downgrading and declassification

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

B. 201-798301
D. 50-9-11

REPRODUCTION BY OTHER THAN THE ISSUING OFFICE IS PROHIBITED. 6 Nov 68 COPY NO.

201-248917

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CLASSIFY TO FILE NO.

X-REF TO FILE NO.

FILE RID ☐ RET. TO — BRANCH ☐ — DESTROY ☐ SIG.

DISSEM BY 11 — PER

ACTION #787 C/WH6 ☐ RID COPY — INFO FILE VR, C/SR 9, C/CI, C/FI 2

S E C R E T 252255Z NOV 63 CITE MEXICO CITY 7945

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY — 5 Nov 63 IN 27533

RYBAT [illegible] LIRING-3

REF MEXICO CITY 7903 (IN 25321)

1. LIRING-3 RECEIVED BRIEF TYPEWRITTEN UNSIGNED LETTER DATED 22 OCT FROM "RAFAEL ARGUETA A." LETTER WHICH CONTAINS MANY TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS EXPRESSED HAPPINESS LIRING-3 FINALLY RELEASED AND HOPED HE WILL SOON RECOVER FROM THE "GRAN ANGUSTIA" CAUSED BY "MY COUNTRY." WRITER CONCLUDED WITH APOLOGIES FOR MISTAKES IN ORTHOGRAPHY AND EXPRESSED DESIRE SEE LIRING-3 AGAIN. ASKED LIRING-3 TO REPLY TO HIM AT FOLLOWING ADDRESS: 2 AVE 27, 57, ZONA 12, GUATEMALA C.A. RATHER THAN TO ONE APPEARING AS RETURN ADDRESS ON ENVELOPE.

2. ENVELOPE IS AIRMAIL STATIONERY "LA DALIA AZUL, ENRIQUE PUENTE C, ARTICULOS PARA CABALLEROS, 6U AVENIDA Y 10A CALLE, TEL: 44-72, GUATEMALA, C.U." WITH RETURN ADDRESS ON BACK: RAFAEL ARGUETA A., 11 AV. 25 22, ZONA 12, GUATEMALA C.A. ENVELOPE IS POSTMARKED 22 OCTOBER 1963 AND IS ADDRESSED TO LIRING-3 AT CALLE HAVRE 7, COL. JUAREZ, MEXICO, D.F. (SALON DE LA PLASTICA MEXICANA WHICH LIRING-3 HAD GIVEN TO JUAN AND MIGUEL LEON BARRIOS AS BEST

14-00000

CABLE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION — CLASSIFIED MESSAGE — TOTAL COPIES — ROUTING AND/OR INITIALS - SEEN BY

PERSON/UNIT NOTIFIED

SECRET (When Filled In)

REPRODUCTION OF THIS COPY PROHIBITED

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INDEX [ ] YES [ ] NO

BY ______ AT ______

CLASSIFY TO FILE NO. ______

X-REF TO FILE NO. ______

DISSEM BY ______ PER ______

FILE RID [ ] RET. TO ______ BRANCH [ ] DESTROY [ ] SIG.

ACTION

[ ] RID COPY

INFO

FILE VR.

PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 7945 S E C R E T

ADDRESS TO USE IN ESTABLISHING CONTACT WITH HIM.)

3. LIRING-3 COMMENTED LETTER PROBABLY SIMPLY DESIGNED CHECK NEW COMMO CHANNEL. STATED HE HAS NEVER HEARD OF NAME RAFAEL ARGUETA A AND ASSUMES IT ALIAS OR NOTIONAL LETTER DROP. PLANS REPLY IMMEDIATELY ACKNOWLEDGING RECEIPT AND ASKING "ARGUETA" WRITE NEXT LETTER DIRECTLY TO APARTMENT LIRING-4 RENTED DURING LIRING-3 ABSENCE. LIRING-3 WILL ASK FRIENDS TO EXPEDITE CONTACT "SINCE HE PLANNING TRAVEL".

4. IS THERE SOME WAY GUATEMALA CITY STATION CAN CHECK OF PARA 1 ADDRESS WITHOUT AT LEAST FOR MOMENT MAKING ON SPOT CHECK OR USING LIAISON?

5. FILE 201-245917, 201-793321.

S E C R E T

ORIG: Marvin Francis/rc
UNIT: WH/1
EXT: 4167/1973
DATE: 1 Nov 68

MESSAGE FORM
TOTAL COPIES: 18

SECRET

ROUTING AND/OR INITIALS - SEEN BY

CABLE SECRETARIAT DISSEMINATION
BY 41 PER
INDEX / DESTROY / RETURN TO ___ BRANCH / FILE RID
NO INDEX / FILE IN CS FILE NO.

CONF: C/WH 6 RID COPY
INFO: FILE, VR, C/RI/SD, C/WH/COG 5, C/CI, C/FI 2,

SECRET

01 23 12z Nov 68

CITE DIRECTOR 47403

TO MEXICO CITY INFO: GUATEMALA CITY

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING

REFERENCE: MEXICO CITY 7900 (IN 25321)*

1. SUBJECT TO GUATEMALA STATION CONCURRENCE, WE BELIEVE LIRING/3 SHOULD BE CANDID WITH LIRING/10 AND TELL HIM WHAT AND AS MUCH AS HE WANTS TO KNOW. WE FEEL IF LIRING/3 ATTEMPTED WITHHOLD OR DISTORT DETAILS HIS IMPRISONMENT, IT COULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO OPERATION SINCE LIRING/10 PROBABLY COULD CHECK OTHER SOURCES FOR ACCURACY.

2. THERE NO URGENCY FOR LIRING/3 MAKE TRIP TO PBRUMEN. WE BELIEVE IT MORE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR HIM TO REMAIN MEXICO AND ATTEMPT BECOME INVOLVED LOCAL PBRUMEN/GUATEMALA EXILE ACTIVITIES. IF, HOWEVER, LIRING/10 SUGGESTS LIRING/3 GO PBRUMEN, HE SHOULD NOT HESITATE DO SO.

3. DEFER TO GUATEMALA CITY FOR IDENTIFICATION REFERENCE WAR NAMES.

4. FILE 50-6-141/3, 201-798301 AND 201-776733.

END OF MESSAGE

Calvin M. Smith
WILLIAM V. BROE
for C/WHD

WH/COG/OPS
WH/2/G
COORDINATING OFFICERS

W. [illegible]
C/WH/1

RELEASING OFFICER

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AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

COPY NO.

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CLASSIFIED MESSAGE 18 TOTAL COPIES 2

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UNIT | TIME | BY

INFO FILE VR, RI(AN), WH/COG 8, CI, CI/OPS

S E C R E T 2[illegible]2 OCT 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 7775 (mexi) 24 OCT 68 IN 19623

GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR

[illegible] LIRING-3

REFS A MEXICO CITY 7[illegible] (- 06501)

B GUATEMALA CITY [illegible] (IN 16895)

1. WOULD APPRECIATE DISCREET EFFORT DETERMINE WHETHER LIRING-3 FREED. IF NOT YET RELEASED WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING WHEN HE SCHEDULED BE AND HOW WILL RETURN MEXICO.

2. TO FACILITATE SUBSEQUENT CONTACT WITH LIRING-3 AND OPEN DOOR TO POSSIBLE CLAIM HE INSTRUMENTAL IN LIRING-3 RELEASE STATION PLANNING HAVE ROWTON SEND LIRING-3 LETTER UNDER DOUBLE ENVELOPE VIA MEXICAN EMBASSY GUATEMALA CITY. LETTER ON MEXICAN [illegible] ANTES OR OTHER SUITABLE STATIONERY WILL MENTION ROWTON (UNDER PSEUDONYM [illegible] TO LIRING-3) UNABLE CONTACT LIRING-3 WIFE [illegible] FOR [illegible] LETTER WILL HINT AT IMMINENT RELEASE AND [illegible] LIRING-3 PHONE ROWTON ANSWERING SERVICE AS SOON AS RETURNS MEXICO.

3. FOR DIRECTOR: ROWTON WHO RELUCTANT AT THIS POINT RECONTACT LIRING-3 THROUGH [illegible] FRIENDS OR CUBANS SO FAR UNABLE RE-ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH HIM.

4. FILE 2[illegible]

S E C R E T

SECRET

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MICROFILMED NOV 7 1968 DOC. MICRO. SER.

B201-815342

24 OCT 68
201-798301

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: SECRET/KAPOK

PROCESSING ACTION: MARKED FOR INDEXING / NO INDEXING REQUIRED / ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING / MICROFILM

TO: Chief, Western Hemisphere Division

INFO.: Deputy Chief WH/C

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: TYPIC/OPERATIONAL/LIRING/Review of LIRING-3 Operation

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES: FYI

Attached is an operational review of the LIRING-3 operation prepared by Wallace B. ROWTON. Attention is also called to PRQ Parts I and II. Part I was sent as HMMA 30540 and part II is being prepared for pouching.

Frank C. Medbery
for Willard C. CURTIS

Attachment:
LIRING-3 Review HEREWITH

Distribution:
(2) - C/WHD w/att
1 - DCWH/C w/att
3 - FILES

3 COPY

201-798301

CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
	HMMA-30585	16 November 1966
	CLASSIFICATION: SECRET/KAPOK	HQS FILE NUMBER: 201-

GROUP 1
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9 November, 19[illegible]6.

Subject: Review and Assessment of LIRING Operation.

I. Background, Character and Assessment of LIRING/3:

1. Liring/3 (Subject) is a [illegible]-year-old Mexican artist of the Diego Rivera School and an [illegible] existentialist oriented toward the philosophy of Jean Paul Sartre, with relatively strong leftist political convictions. He has produced a fair amount of painting and had relatively good success in murals both in Cuba and Mexico, but has not succeeded in selling many of his works despite numerous expositions, sponsored by the Mexican Government plastic arts organization (Bellas Artes). Because of his family, educational and environmental background, Subject feels that his work has not been appreciated for its intrinsic worth by the Mexican Government and tends to blame his political convictions for this lack of acceptance. Subject, however, has, as he himself asserts, no feelings of bitterness or resentment, although he frequently experiences the "anguish, forelornness and loneliness" of the existentialist, but he has not permitted himself to degenerate into a beatnik either in his personal or artistic life. Subject has confided to Rowton that he has no real friends and that he has withdrawn from society, the dictates of which he cannot accept. He enjoys the prospect of travel, especially abroad, "to develop his art" but also as an escape from the pressures and obligations of the social life he has been forced to lead in Mexico.

2. Shortly after he met Rowton, in April, 1966, Subject confessed that he felt himself at a critical point in his personal and artistic life. He indicated that he felt the paradoxes inherent in his philosophy were overwhelming and depressing him and that he welcomed friendship with Rowton, an experienced foreigner whom he felt he could trust implicitly. At one critical point, Subject quit his rather tedious job with the Ministry of Education (teaching art in a public school) with the comment that "everyone must make personal decisions and take risks, and I have decided to throw my lot in with you (Rowton) for better or worse. and so have quit the job since it was interfering with my availability". This he did without knowing any more about Rowton than his name, which technical surveillance revealed he did not accept as a true name, and with no guarantees of future financial support from Rowton. Rowton, in his conversations with Subject, has been careful not to reveal any data concerning his personal life and background, including his permanent or local address, providing Subject only with the number of a telephone answering service, and using the safehouse rented by Subject as a principal point of contact. Subject has accepted money from Rowton, at first only for previously approved expenses, and subsequently for his personal use, but has accepted Rowton's initiative in this matter, and made no demands on Rowton for remuneration for services rendered. He has been meticulous in accounting for funds and shown no reluctance to sign receipts presented to him by Rowton (with his true-name signature). Subject has confessed (and shown) an almost complete lack of experience in business and intelligence work, but has accepted Rowton's guidance, where required, without hesitation.

att. #1 to HMMA-30585

CS COPY

201-798301

B- Development of [illegible] 3/3 by Rowton:

6. Rowton met Subject in April 1966 by cold approach in the art studio where Subject at the time was presenting his latest works under sponsorship of Bellas Artes. Rowton posed as a Greek businessman interested in Subject's style and his immediate objective at the time was to ascertain the address in New York City of Subject's wife's father (a Cuban of Chinese origin who had left Cuba as a refugee). Rowton, feeling that he had to present an above-average prospect to Subject to permit future meetings, alleged that he was anxious to arrange for the painting of a mural to be installed in a New York nightclub owned by a Greek friend of his (Nina Dmitri, owner and performer at the "[illegible]"). Rowton felt that the [illegible] New York nightclub" would have the double advantage of determining Subject's sentiments toward [illegible] in New York City and in a bourgeois environment.

7. Subject reacted very favorably to the [illegible] approach and accepted Rowton's invitation to dinner in the company of Subject's wife the next evening. Both Subject and his wife were cautious in revealing any specific [illegible] but neither concealed their mutual approval of Castro's regime and dislike for the corruption in Mexico. As a result of this meeting Rowton realized that any attempt at a direct approach to either Subject or his wife, who was then employed part-time at the Cuban Consulate, would be counterproductive and that a more subtle approach would have to be developed. Rowton decided that a strong personal relationship developed with Subject would be productive and could eventually lead to useful production on Subject's part.

8. When, therefore, on 2 May 1966, Subject expressed gratification at having met Rowton and indicated that he wished to continue his friendly contacts, regardless of whether Rowton purchased his painting or arranged for the mural, Rowton ~~xx~~ moved in with an offer to "hire" Subject as his business associate on an unofficial basis, so that Subject could acquire a degree of independence financially and perhaps do some traveling for Rowton. In order to develop as much clandestinity as possible in his future contacts with Subject, Rowton explained that he was simply a tourist in Mexico and as such not permitted to engage in lucrative business activities. He would therefore have to depend on Subject's discretion in any dealings he might have with him. Subject accepted this as quite normal but pointed out to Roton his limitations ~~xas~~ far as business training and experience went. In reply to Rowton's query, he did confess, however, that he had excellent contacts in Havana that could be exploited for business dealings with Cuba. He volunteered to make an exploratory trip to Havana to renew his friendship with the persons concerned. Rowton accepted this offer, not only to test Subject's story but also to seize the occasion to be in a position to provide Subject with money to make the trip and thus compromise him somewhat at the outset.

9. Rowton's next move was to explain to Subject that he had a long-term interest in Cuba and hoped to do a great deal of business in the future but first felt it was essential that both he and Subject develop the proper contacts inside to ensure success. Subject readily agreed to this and felt relieved that Rowton did not expect him to produce concrete results overnight. When Rowton, therefore, suggested that Subject find and rent a safehouse for entertainment and development of prospective contacts, Subject [illegible] to work immediately without question. (Although Rowton's suggestion was first made on 17 June, Subject did not succeed in finding a suitable place until the end of July.) This project, however, gave Subject something specific and relatively clandestine to do for Rowton without seriously compromising any of his principles. Subject, as it developed later, was interested in such a hide-away, unknown even to his wife, for his own purposes.

off [illegible] with some friends. [illegible] then [illegible] to Rowton his criticism of López' [illegible] and [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] his Embassy functions (in the [illegible] and [illegible] López had [illegible] off his admonitions with the comment that there [illegible] more important things to do for the revolution. [illegible] [illegible] which López as well as [illegible] other Cuban officials, [illegible] treated Subject's friendly advice in the past, obviously cut Subject to the quick and fostered in him the resentment of a peasant toward his [illegible]. Taking this into consideration and in the hope of stirring up as [illegible] trouble for López and the Embassy as possible, the Station permitted Rowton to pass to Subject the highly restricted information that López had actually been arrested by the Mexican police for complicity in the arms smuggling ring that had recently been uncovered in their operations from Mexico into Guatemala. Rowton gave Subject enough details to make the story convincing and asked Subject to attribute the information to "Central American friends" and to stress that it was already in the hands of the press. In addition Rowton suggested that Subject pass this information [illegible] to López as a hot tip so that López could discreetly disappear before the reporters managed to question him. When Subject did as requested by Rowton, López was apparently so overwhelmed with gratitude for Subject's good intentions that he informed the Ambassador the following morning (just before his [illegible] departure for Havana). Events then moved swiftly. The Ambassador called in Subject and expressed his personal appreciation for Subject's interest and help in this delicate matter and agreed with Subject that the involvement of Embassy personnel in arms smuggling was placing Cuban-Mexican relations in jeopardy. Overnight this raised Subject's status in the eyes of the Ambassador and his closest advisors (Curbelo and Cepeda) to that of a valued confident rather than simply a friend of the revolution. This obviously pleased Subject and made him all the more anxious to conceal the role of Rowton in the affair so that all the credit would continue to fall to him.

13. As a result Subject was subsequently called in by Curbelo and Cepeda and asked to offer his services to help the Tricontinental in its work in Central America. On Rowton's advice (which Subject sollicited) the offer was accepted on condition that the work to be done would be serious (i.e. worth the personal risks Subject would have to run) and that Subject would be permitted to work without the overt involvement of the local Embassy. These conditions were promptly accepted and Subject was invited to visit Havana again so that he could be briefed on the spot by Osmani Cienfuego and his staff.

14. Subject was thus catapulted into the level of IS activites, with Rowton maneuvered into a position of éminence grise. It remains to be seen following Subject's return from Havana (estimated at 21 November, 1966) whether Subject will be entrusted with secret requirements by the Tricontinental, but it appears certain at this point that Rowton will be able to provide full guidance to Subject and to steer the operations he might be engaged in toward targets of interest to ______ . WOFACT

C- Biographical Data Elicited from LIRING/3:

15. Subject was born in Mexico City in 1930 of a middle class family. Subject's grandfather was a well-known textile merchant who served some 12 years as president of the Chamber of Commerce. At least one of Subject's aunts is currently well-to-do and the owner of several apartment houses in Mexico City. Subject has at present little or no contact with his family.

16. At the age of 15 [illegible] left home to join the Mexican Navy. Subject has commented to Rowton that his childhood was not particularly happy and that his mother and father separated, [illegible], when he was in his teens. It [illegible] likely that Subject left home as a result of family dissension. Subject [illegible] that his [illegible] to travel and see the world [illegible] at the time he joined the navy.

17. Inasmuch as the legal [illegible] for [illegible] was 18, Subject had to have his birth certificate altered to show that he had been born in 1927 rather than [illegible]. [illegible] Subject's official documents now show his birth-date as [illegible], including his passport.

18. Subject served a three-year hitch in the navy and visited nearly all the ports of Mexico and many of Central America. Subject's speciality appears to have been in the [illegible] branch. [illegible] he learned the rudiments of navigation and ship-[illegible]. [illegible] he left the naval service. Subject entered the University of Mexico and [illegible] in Archaeology and Anthropology for the next two years. Subject simultaneously developed a strong interest in painting and sculpture and over the next five or so xx years, studied under such masters as Rivera and Siqueiros.

29. Subject was married in 1950 at the age of twenty years to a young Mexican woman from Leon, GTO. and during the next ten years had at at least four children by her. He divorced his wife in about 1960, just prior to his departure for Cuba, but he had not been on good terms with her for several years prior to the divorce. From about 1954 to 1960, Subject worked in the Mexican Government Social Service among the Indians in the southern states of Mexico. Subject attributes some of the tension that arose between him and his wife to this employment venture. He commented to Rowton that his first wife wanted to live a quiet normal life in Mexico City and was unwilling to share with him the hardships of social work in remote areas of tropical Mexico. During this period Subject gradually developed his own style in painting and began to establish close contacts with Mexican art circles.

20. Subject went to Cuba in about 1960 "to join the revolution", apparently as a result of his increasingly leftist political sympathies. He did a relatively large amount of painting and mural work during his four-year residence in Cuba, while at the same time working in the Ministry of Labor and Education. In about 1961 he married a Cuban woman of Chinese origin from Santiago de Cuba and the following year a (girl) child was born to them in Havana. Subject has told Rowton that he has had very little contact with his first wife since his divorce and pays no alimony. He added that his family, however, has continued to take an interest in his first wife and the children of his first marriage and has helped to support them financially. During his stay in Cuba, Subject developed close friendship with many Cuban revolutionaries, particularly Arnol Rodriguez, whose wife worked with Subject in the Ministry of Education at the time when Arnol Rodriguez was serving as Minister of Labor.

21. Subject returned to Mexico City in 1964 with his new wife and child (whom he had naturalized as a Mexican citizen). By this time Subject had become a professional artist but supplemented the rather modest income he acquired from the sale of his painting by teaching art privately and in Mexican public schools. His monthly income during [illegible] and early 1966 did not exceed 3.000 pesos.

Wallace B. Rowton

[illegible] Rowton

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LIRING/3

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SECRET 252255Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 7945

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY

5 Nov 68 IN 27533

RYBAT PERUMEN LIRING-3

REF MEXICO CITY 7933 (IN 35321)

1. LIRING-3 RECEIVED BRIEF TYPEWRITTEN UNSIGNED LETTER DATED 22 OCT FROM "RAFAEL ARGUETA A." LETTER WHICH CONTAINS MANY TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS EXPRESSED HAPPINESS LIRING-3 FINALLY RELEASED AND HOPED HE WILL SOON RECOVER FROM THE "GRAN ANGUSTIA" CAUSED BY "MY COUNTRY." WRITER CONCLUDED WITH APOLOGIES FOR MISTAKES IN ORTHOGRAPHY AND EXPRESSED DESIRE SEE LIRING-3 AGAIN. ASKED LIRING-3 TO REPLY TO HIM AT FOLLOWING ADDRESS: 2 AVE 27, 57, ZONA 12, GUATEMALA C.A. RATHER THAN TO ONE APPEARING AS RETURN ADDRESS ON ENVELOPE.

2. ENVELOPE IS AIRMAIL STATIONERY "LA DALIA AZUL, ENRIQUE PUENTE C, ARTICULOS PARA CABALLEROS, 6A AVENIDA Y 10A CALLE, TEL: 44-72, GUATEMALA, C.U." WITH RETURN ADDRESS ON BACK: RAFAEL ARGUETA A., 11 AV. 25 22, ZONA 12, GUATEMALA C.A. ENVELOPE IS POSTMARKED 22 OCTOBER 1968 AND IS ADDRESSED TO LIRING-3 AT CALLE HAVRE 7, COL. JUAREZ, MEXICO, D.F. (SALON DE LA PLASTICA MEXICANA WHICH LIRING-3 HAD GIVEN TO JUAN AND MIGUEL LEON BARRIOS AS BEST

SECRET

14-00000

ORIG: Marvin Francis/rc
UNIT: WH/1
EXT: 4167/1973
DATE: 1 Nov 68

MESSAGE FORM
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01 23 12z Nov 68

CITE DIRECTOR 47408

TO MEXICO CITY [redacted] INFO: GUATEMALA CITY

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING

REFERENCE: MEXICO CITY 7900 (IN 25321)*

1. SUBJECT TO GUATEMALA STATION CONCURRENCE, WE BELIEVE LIRING/3 SHOULD BE CANDID WITH LIRING/10 AND TELL HIM WHAT AND AS MUCH AS HE WANTS TO KNOW. WE FEEL IF LIRING/3 ATTEMPTED WITHHOLD OR DISTORT DETAILS HIS IMPRISONMENT, IT COULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE TO OPERATION SINCE LIRING/10 PROBABLY COULD CHECK OTHER SOURCES FOR ACCURACY.

2. THERE NO URGENCY FOR LIRING/3 MAKE TRIP TO PBRUMEN. WE BELIEVE IT MORE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR HIM TO REMAIN MEXICO AND ATTEMPT BECOME INVOLVED LOCAL PBRUMEN/GUATEMALA EXILE ACTIVITIES. IF, HOWEVER, LIRING/10 SUGGESTS LIRING/3 GO PBRUMEN, HE SHOULD NOT HESITATE DO SO.

3. DEFER TO GUATEMALA CITY FOR IDENTIFICATION REFERENCE WAR NAMES.

4. FILE 50-6-141/3, 201-798301 AND 201-776733.

MICROFILMED
DEC 12 1968
DOC. MICRO. SER.

END OF MESSAGE

Calvin M. Smith for
WILLIAM V. BROE
C/WHD

WH/COG/OPS
WH/2/G
COORDINATING OFFICERS

W. J. KAUFMAN
C/WH/1

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1554

MEX C

S E C R E T 010132Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 7920

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

1 Nov 68 IN 25321

1. ROWTON REESTABLISHED CONTACT LIRING-3 29 OCT AND BEGAN DETAILED DEBRIEFING EVENING SAME DAY. ROWTON ALLEGED HE ARRANGED RELEASE THROUGH BROTHER OF BUSINESS CONTACT WHO COLONEL GNA. LIRING-3, WHO ACCEPTED STORY WITHOUT QUESTION, STATED HE UNDERSTOOD ROWTON COULD NOT HAVE ARRANGED EARLY RELEASE FOR OBVIOUS SECURITY REASONS AND FELT ALMOST INTOLERABLE SUFFERING WORTH PAIN SINCE HAS COME OUT IN BEST POSSIBLE POSITION VISA-A-VIS FAR AS WELL AS PBRUMEN.

2. LIRING-3 HAS BEGUN GIVE COMPLETE DETAILS ARREST, DETENTION AND CONTACTS ESTYLISHED DURING AND AFTER RELEASE. ASKED ROWTON KEEP SENSITIVE POINTS IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE, PARTICULARLY FROM LIRING-4, WHOM FEELS WOULD NOT APPROVE HIS CONTINUED POLITICAL ACTIVITY EVEN ON BEHALF ROWTON. HIGHLIGHTS DEBRIEFING FOLLOW:

A. ROLANDO "CEBOLLITA". FAR OFFICIAL, WHO SHARED CELL BLOCK 400 WITH LIRING-3 TOLD LATTER THAT HE HAD SENT REPORT ~~OF ARREST FAVORABLE TO LIRING-3 TOLD LATTER THAT HE HAD SENT REPORT~~ OF ARREST FAVORABLE TO LIRIN-3 AND PLACING BLAME ON FRANCISCO

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1 Nov 68
201-798301

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ACTION ☐ RID COPY

INFO

FILE, VR.

PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 7930 S E C R E T

LARA AND CARLOS PERSABAL TO FAR HUGS THROUGH HIS MOTHER WHO ALLOWED TO VISIT HIM PRIOR TO HIS EXECUTION.

B. BROTHERS JUAN AND MIGUEL (LEON) BARRIOS, WHO CLAIMED TO BE G-2 FAR, WHO ALSO SHARED CELLBLOCK AND REMAINED IN CLOSE CONTACT LIRING-3 THROUGHOUT HIS DETENTION, SHOWED LIRING-3 REPORT THEY HAD RECEIVED JULY FROM "RELIABLE FAR SOURCES MEXICO" DESCRIBING LIRING-3 AS "ANARQUICO, SIN PARTIDO, CONDUCTA BUENA, CONFIABLE, RESPONSABLE PERO DIFICIL CONTROLAR." FOLLOWING THIS GENERALLY FAVORABLE REPORT JUAN AND MIGUEL (LEON) BARRIOS DISCUSSED FAR SITUATION FREELY WITH LIRING-3 AND ARRANGED FOR SECRET CONTACT WITH FAR REPRESENTATIVE MEXICO "PAVEL". ALSO TOLD LIRING-3 MONTES COMPLETELY STRIPPED OF POWER SINCE HAD IN FACT DESERTED REVOLUTION BY REMAINING OUTSIDE COUNTRY FOR EXTENDED PERIOD. MONTES CURRENTLY MEXICO WHERE EXPECTED REMAIN. FAR HAS COMPLETELY BROKEN WITH GUAT CP. THIS ACCORDING LIRING-3 REFLECTED IN COOLNESS EVIDENT BETWEEN LEON BROTHERS AND FRANCISCO CORADO, CP RESPONSIBLE IN PAVON PRISON. FAR HAS NOT BEEN RECEIVING FINANCIAL OR MATERIAL SUPPORT FROM PBRUMEN FOR PAST SIX MONTHS SINCE REFUSAL FAR ACCEPT PBRUMEN TERMS (SUPERVISION PBRUMEN EXPERTS, FAVORED POSITION

SECRET

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ACTION [ ] RID COPY

INFO

FILE, VR.

PAGE 3 MEXICO CITY 7920 S E C R E T

FAR MEMBERS TRAINED IN PBRUMEN) ALL FUNDS (IN PAST CHANNELED THROUGH GUAT CP ETC).

3. LIRING -3 TOLD RCWTON HE INSTRUCTED LEON BROTHERS HAVE "PAVEL" GET IN TOUCH WITH HIM (DETERMINE HIS ADDRESS) THROUGH SALON DE LA PLASTICA MEXICAN BY POSING AS PERSON REPRESENTING "VILETA" WHO INTERESTED IN BUYING LIRING-3 WATERCOLORS (DONE IN PRISON). LIRING-3 PLANS FOR COVER PURPOSES WORK IN SIQUEIROS STUDIO CUERNAVACA AND ARRANGE SOONEST BELLAS ARTES SPONSORED EXPOSTION HIS LATEST PAINTINGS.

4. WILL POUCH COMPLETE LIRING-3 DEBRIEFING AS SOON IN COMPLETED. STATION HOPES LIRING AND PARTICULARLY LIRING-10 WILL TRY ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH LIRING-3 AS HE CAN BE EXPECTED HA HAVE INFO OF VALUE TO PBRUMEN REGIME. STATION INTENDS HAVE LIRING -3 TELL LIRING-10 ENOUGH TO WET HIS APPETITE AND CONVINCE HIM LIRING-3 SHOULD BE DEBRIEFED AT SOME LENGTH. LIRING-3 WOULD TELL LIRING 10 HE WILLING OUTLINE DETAILS HIS ORDEAL INCLUDING INFO "PBRUMENS SHOULD KNOW" BUT ONLY TO HIGH PBRUMEN FUNCTIONARY AND IN PBRUMEN. PRIOR TO POSSIBLE LIRING-3 TRIP PBRUMEN, SUGGEST HQS, GUATEMALA CITY AND MEXICO CITY STATIONS DETERMINE WHAT CAN BE PASSED PBRUMENS. CONFERENCE IN GUATEMALA

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FILE, VR.

PAGE 4 MEXICO CITY 7923 S E C R E T

CITY BETWEEN ROWTON, FRADYER AND GUAT CITY STATION REPS MIGHT BE USEFUL IN THIS CONNECTION.

5. ASSUME GUAT NAMES MENTIONED ABOVE ARE "WAR NAMES". CAN GUATEMALA CITY SHED SOME LIGHT THEIR IDENTITIES.

6. FILE 201-798301.

S E C R E T

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1554

S E C R E T 021332Z NOV 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 7922

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY

RYBAT PBRUMEN LIRING-3

1 Nov 68 IN 25321

1. ROWTON REESTABLISHED CONTACT LIRING-3 29 OCT AND BEGAN DETAILED DEBRIEFING EVENING SAME DAY. ROWTON ALLEDGED HE ARRANGED RELEASE THROUGH BROTHER OF BUSINESS CONTACT WHO COLONEL GNA. LIRING-3, WHO ACCEPTED STORY WITHOUT QUESTION, STATED HE UNDERSTOOD ROWTON COULD NOT HAVE ARRANGED EARLY RELEASE FOR OBVIOUS SECURITY REASONS AND FELT ALMOST INTOLERABLE SUFFERING WORTH PAIN SINCE HAS COME OUT IN BEST POSSIBLE POSITION VISA-A-VIS FAR AS WELL AS PBRUMEN.

2. LIRING-3 HAS BEGUN GIVE COMPLETE DETAILS ARREST, DETENTION AND CONTACTS ESTYLISHED DURING AND AFTER RELEASE. ASKED ROWTON KEEP SENSITIVE POINTS IN STRICTEST CONFIDENCE, PARTICULARLY FROM LIRING-4, WHOM FEELS WOULD NOT APPROVE HIS CONTINUED POLITICAL ACTIVITY EVEN ON BEHALF ROWTON. HIGHLIGHTS DEBRIEFING FOLLOW:

A. ROLANDO "CEBOLLITA", FAR OFFICIAL, WHO SHARED CELL BLOCK 402 WITH LIRING-3 TOLD LATTER THAT HE HAD SENT REPORT ~~OF ARREST FAVORABLE TO LIRING-3 TOLD LATTER THAT HE HAD SENT REPOR~~ OF ARREST FAVORABLE TO LIRIN-3 AND PLACING BLAME ON FRANCISCO

file LIRING-3 201

C/WH/1 ____ DC ____ Keuke ____

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 7922 S E C R E T

LARA AND CARLOS PERSABAL TO FAR HDGS THROUGH HIS MOTHER WHO ALLOWED TO VISIT HIM PRIOR TO HIS EXECUTION.

B. BROTHERS JUAN AND MIGUEL (LEON) BARRIOS, WHO CLAIMED TO BE G-2 FAR, WHO ALSO SHARED CELLBLOCK AND REMAINED IN CLOSE CONTACT LIRING-3 THROUGHOUT HIS DETENTION, SHOWED LIRING-3 REPORT THEY HAD RECEIVED JULY FROM "RELIABLE FAR SOURCES MEXICO" DESCRIBING LIRING-3 AS "ANARQUICO, SIN PARTIDO, CONDUCTA BUENA, CONFIABLE, RESPONSABLE PERO DIFICIL CONTROLAR." FOLLOWING THIS GENERALLY FAVORABLE REPORT JUAN AND MIGUEL (LEON) BARRIOS DISCUSSED FAR SITUATION FREELY WITH LIRING-3 AND ARRANGED FOR SECRET CONTACT WITH FAR REPRESENTATIVE MEXICO "PAVEL". ALSO TOLD LIRING-3 MONTES COMPLETELY STRIPPED OF POWER SINCE HAD IN FACT DESERTED REVOLUTION BY REMAINING OUTSIDE COUNTRY FOR EXTENDED PERIOD. MONTES CURRENTLY MEXICO WHERE EXPECTED REMAIN. FAR HAS COMPLETELY BROKEN WITH GUAT CP. THIS ACCORDING LIRING-3 REFLECTED IN COOLNESS EVIDENT BETWEEN LEON BROTHERS AND FRANCISCO CORADO, CP RESPONSIBLE IN PAVON PRISON. FAR HAS NOT BEEN RECEIVING FINANCIAL OR MATERIAL SUPPORT FROM PBRUMEN FOR PAST SIX MONTHS SINCE REFUSAL FAR ACCEPT PBRUMEN TERMS (SUPERVISION PBRUMEN EXPERTS, FAVORED POSITION

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PAGE 3 MEXICO CITY 7920 S E C R E T

FAR MEMBERS TRAINED IN PBRUMEN) ALL FUNDS IN PAST CHANNELED THROUGH GUAT CP ETC).

3. LIRING -3 TOLD ROWTON HE INSTRUCTED LEON BROTHERS HAVE "PAVEL" GET IN TOUCH WITH HIM (DETERMINE HIS ADDRESS) THROUGH SALON DE LA PLASTICA MEXICAN BY POSING AS PERSON REPRESENTING "VILETA" WHO INTERESTED IN BUYING LIRING-3 WATERCOLORS (DONE IN PRISON). LIRING-3 PLANS FOR COVER PURPOSES WORK IN SIQUEIROS STUDIO CUERNAVACA AND ARRANGE SOONEST BELLAS ARTES SPONSORED EXPOSTION HIS LATEST PAINTINGS.

4. WILL POUCH COMPLETE LIRING-3 DEBRIEFING AS SOON AS COMPLETED. STATION HOPES LIRING AND PARTICULARLY LIRING-10 WILL TRY ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH LIRING-3 AS HE CAN BE EXPECTED HAVE INFO OF VALUE TO PBRUMEN REGIME. STATION INTENDS HAVE LIRING -3 TELL LIRING-10 ENOUGH TO WET HIS APPETITE AND CONVINCE HIM LIRING-3 SHOULD BE DEBRIEFED AT SOME LENGTH. LIRING-3 WOULD TELL LIRING 10 HE WILLING OUTLINE DETAILS HIS ORDEAL INCLUDING INFO "PBRUMENS SHOULD KNOW" BUT ONLY TO HIGH PBRUMEN FUNCTIONARY AND IN PBRUMEN. PRIOR TO POSSIBLE LIRING-3 TRIP PBRUMEN, SUGGEST HQS, GUATEMALA CITY AND MEXICO CITY STATIONS DETERMINE WHAT CAN BE PASSED PBRUMENS. CONFERENCE IN GUATEMALA

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PAGE 4 MEXICO CITY 7900 S E C R E T

CITY BETWEEN ROWTON, FRADYER AND GUAT CITY STATION REPS MIGHT BE USEFUL IN THIS CONNECTION.

5. ASSUME GUAT NAMES MENTIONED ABOVE ARE "WAR NAMES". CAN GUATEMALA CITY SHED SOME LIGHT THEIR IDENTITIES.

6. FILE 201-798301.

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INFO FILE VR. WH/COG 8, RI/AN, CI, CI/OPS, FI 2,

SECRET 241826Z OCT 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9614

MEXICO CITY INFO DIRECTOR

PBRUMEN LIRING/3

24 OCT 68 IN 20246

REF: MEXICO CITY 7775 (IN 19623)

1. ESMICA/13 REPORTED LIRING/3 AND COMPANION DEPARTED GUATEMALA 18 OCTOBER 1968 VIA TACA FLIGHT 210 FOR MEXICO CITY. THEY ASKED FOR AND RECEIVED ESCORT DIRECTLY FROM PRISON FARM TO AIRPORT.

2. FILE: 201-248917.

SECRET

WH/file: LIRHUME 0/S
50-6-128/3
LIRING-4

cc's: LIRING-3
201

SECRET

INDEX: ☐ YES ☐ NO
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file LIRING/3 201

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INFO FILE VR, RI/AN, WH/COG 8, CI, CI/OPS

SECRET 240020Z OCT 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 7775 24 OCT 68 IN 19623

GUATEMALA CITY, DIRECTOR

[illegible] LIRING-3

REFS: A. MEXICO CITY [illegible] (-06501)

B. GUATEMALA CITY 9632 (IN 16895)

1. WOULD APPRECIATE DISCREET EFFORT DETERMINING WHETHER LIRING-3 FREED. IF NOT YET RELEASED WOULD APPRECIATE KNOWING WHEN HE SCHEDULED BE AND HOW WILL RETURN MEXICO.

2. TO FACILITATE SUBSEQUENT CONTACT WITH LIRING-3 AND OPEN DOOR TO POSSIBLE CLAIM HE INSTRUMENTAL IN LIRING-3 RELEASE STATION PLANNING HAVE HORTON SEND LIRING-3 LETTER UNDER DOUBLE ENVELOPE VIA MEXICAN EMBASSY GUATEMALA CITY. LETTER ON MEXICAN [illegible] OR OTHER SUITABLE STATIONERY WILL MENTION HORTON [illegible] UNABLE CONTACT [illegible] WHICH WILL HINT AT IMMINENT RELEASE AND [illegible] LIRING-3 [illegible] HORTON ANSWERING SERVICE AS SOON AS RETURNS MEXICO.

3. FOR [illegible] HORTON WAS [illegible] AT THIS POINT [illegible] LIRING-3 THROUGH LEFTIST FRIENDS OR CUBANS SO FAR UNABLE [illegible] CONTACT WITH HIM.

4. [illegible]

SECRET

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ACTION WH 8 ☐ RID COPY

INFO FILE, VR. RI/AN, CA5, CA/PEG, CI/OPS, CI/IC2, FI2

13 Oct 68 IN 16895

S E C R E T 191835Z OCT 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9602 GUAT

MEXICO CITY INFO DIRECTOR

REF: MEXICO CITY 7486 (IN 06501)

1. 19 OCTOBER GUATEMALAN DAILY PRENSA LIBRE REPORTED COURT OF APPEALS CONFIRMED DECISION OF LOWER COURT ABSOLVING LIRING-3 AND COMPANION OF CHARGES VIOLATION LAW OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS. NO MENTION MADE WHETHER THEY ACTUALLY RELEASED FROM CUSTODY.

2. WILL REPORT ANY INFO RECEIVED ON RELEASE LIRING-3

3. FILE: 201-248917.

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19 OCT 68

201-798301

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INFO FILE, VR, C/RI/CD, C/WH6, C/CI, C/FI 2/CI / WH/C/OR

SECRET 042307Z OCT 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 7486

DIRECTOR, GUATEMALA CITY

5 OCT 68 IN 06501

REFS: A. DIRECTOR 36584

B. GUATEMALA CITY 9517 (IN 02560)

C. HMMA 35502 PARA 5

MICROFILMED OCT 31 1968 DOC. MICRO. SER.

1. STATION WISHES TO REITERATE ONCE MORE ITS RELUCTANCE TO SOMEHOW TRY TO FREE LIRING-3 FROM JAIL IN GUATEMALA CITY BY GOING TO LIAISON AND EXPOSING HIS WOFIRM CONNECTION. MEXICO CITY STATION IN AGREEMENT WITH REF B STATEMENT THAT MORE TIME SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO SEE IF LIRING-3 WILL NOT BE RELEASED IN NOT TOO DISTANT FUTURE WITHOUT INDICATING WOFIRM INTEREST. AS STATED IN REF C SUCH INDICATION IF IT LEAKED (AND STATION ASSUMES THIS POSSIBLE IN GUATEMALA) OR IF IT ATTRACTED SUSPICION GUAT REBELS, MEXICAN LEFTISTS OR PBRUMENERS WOULD RENDER FURTHER OPERATIONAL EXPLOITATION LIRING-3 AND LIRING-4 PROBLEMATIC. IT MIGHT EVEN PROMPT GUAT REBELS TO TAKE REPRISALS AGAINST LIRING-3 AND LIRING-4. FURTHERMORE STATION NOT AT ALL SURE THAT FREEING LIRING-3 THROUGH INTERVENTION LIAISON MIGHT NOT JEOPARDIZE ROWTON SECURITY.

2. IF LIRING-3 RELEASED AFTER NORMAL TRIAL WITHOUT ANY INDICATION OF OUTSIDE INFLUENCE STATION ASSUMES BOTH HE AND LIRING-4

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B. 201-818842 SECRET 5 Oct 68 201-798341

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INFO

FILE, VR.

PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 7486 S E C R E T

WILL HAVE INCREASED OPERATIONAL POTENTIAL. IF LIRING-3 NOT RELEASED IN NEAR FUTURE LIRING-4 MAY FIND ONLY WAY OUT HER CURRENT PREDICAMENT IS AT LEAST TEMPORARY RETURN TO PBRUMEN. SHE MIGHT AT THAT POINT BE AMENABLE UNDERTAKE MISSION SIMILAR TO THAT SHE PREVIOUSLY AGREEABLE ATTEMPT FOR WOFIRM.

3. STATION WOULD NATURALLY BE WILLING RE-EXAMINE ITS POSITION RE LIRING-3 IF GUATEMALA CITY STATION COULD DETERMINE BEYOND ANY REASONABLE DOUBT THAT APPROACH OF JUDGE THROUGH LIAISON WOULD NOT LEAK. CAN GUATEMALA CITY STATION GIVE SUCH ASSURANCE?

4. FILE 201-798501.

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UNIT: WH/1/3E04
EXT: 4167:1973
DATE: 4 October 1968

SECRET 23

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CITE DIRECTOR DIR 38881

TO GUATEMALA CITY INFO: MEXICO CITY

04 20 23z OCT 68

4 OCT 68

REFS: A. GUATEMALA CITY 9517 (IN 02560)*

B. DIRECTOR 36584**

1. APPRECIATE REF A RESPONSE. AGREE WE DO NOT WANT SURFACE WOFIRM INTEREST LIRING-3 OR WIFE TO GUATS IF CAN BE AVOIDED.

2. REF B WAS SENT FOLLOWING DISCUSSION WITH LIRING-3'S CASE OFFICER, ROWTON WHO STILL TDY HQS. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH ROWTON, HOWEVER, WE PREFER GUAT STATION TAKE NO ACTION ON REFERENCE B REQUEST UNTIL ROWTON RETURNS MEXICO. HE CAN THEN ATTEMPT OBTAIN UPDATED READING ON LIRING-3 STATUS FROM LIRING-4 OR OTHER SOURCE, AFTER WHICH ROWTON AND MEXICO CITY STATION CAN DECIDE IF ESMAJOR-20 INTERVENTION WARRANTED.

3. INDEX 201-248917, 201-798301.

END OF MESSAGE

MICROFILMED
OCT 14 1968
DOC. MICRO. SER.

AH | AB X | TX | PB | BX | DC | EX | WH/1

Liring-3
4 OCT 68
201-798301

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B 201-248917
B 201-818842

RELEASING OFFICER | COORDINATING OFFICERS | AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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UNIT: WH/1/3E04
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DATE:

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(classification) (date and time filed) (elite) (pica) (reference number)

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PAGE 2

CITE DIRECTOR 38881

TO

WH/1 COMMENT: *Indicated liaison contact [illegible] could attempt intercede on LIRING-3's behalf to learn when his trial would take place or possibly to obtain his release. Station reluctant surface WOFIRM interest however without Mexico City Station concurrance.

**Headquarters commented on fact LIRING-4 recently took up residence in Cuban Embassy, Mexico City because lacked funds pay rent. Also asked Guatemala Station if could arrange for early release LIRING-3 and associate from jail through high level Guat official.

WH/COG/[illegible] Dave

WH/2/G L.H.[illegible]

Calvin M. Smyth
for
WILLIAM V. BROE
C/WHD

RELEASING OFFICER

COORDINATING OFFICERS

W. J. KAUFMAN
C/WH/1

AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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INFO FILE, VR, C/WH6, C/RI/SD, C/CI, C/FI 2, GUAT

S E C R E T 301842Z SEP 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 8517 IN 02560

DIRECTOR INFO MEXICO CITY

RYBAT TYPIC LIRING

1. GUATEMALA CITY STATION IS WILLING TO USE ITS LIAISON RELATIONSHIP IN ANY WAY NECESSARY TO SUPPORT UNILATERAL WOFIRM OPERATIONS. NEVERTHELESS IT MUST BE REALIZED THAT AFTER 6 MONTHS, REVEALING WOFIRM INTEREST IN LIRING-3 IS SOMEWHAT AWKWARD. WHILE GUATEMALAN CITY STATION IS NOT FULLY COGNIZANT OF ALL OPERATIONAL IMPLICATIONS LIRING-4 OPERATION AND ITS VALUE TO WOFIRM, WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT BY ALLOWING MORE TIME LIRING-3 AND COMPANION WILL BE RELEASED WITHOUT NEED INDICATE WOFIRM INTEREST. THIS APPEARS MORE IN LINE WITH MEXICO CITY STATION POSITION THEY DEFINITELY NOT IN FAVOR INTERVENTION WITH GUAT AUTHORITIES WHICH WOULD FINGER LIRING-3 AS SOME TYPE WOFIRM ASSET (MEXICO CITY 5984).

2. IF MEXICO CITY HAS CHANGED ABOVE POSITION AND NOW AGREES WOFIRM INTEREST CAN BE INDICATED, SUGGEST FOLLOWING APPROACH: STATION WILL ADVISE ESMAJOR-20 THAT MEXICO CITY HAS DEVELOPED AN OPERATIONAL INTEREST IN LIRING-3'S WIFE BUT UNABLE PROCEED WITH OPERATION BECAUSE OF HER CONCERN OVER FATE OF HER HUSBAND. WE CAN THEN ASK ESMAJOR-20 ATTEMPT ASCERTAIN WHEN TRIAL

MICROFILMED OCT 11 1968 DOC. MICRO. SER.

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201-818842

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30 Sept 68

201-798301

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PAGE 2 GUATEMALA CITY 9517 S E C R E T

SCHEDULED AND INDICATION WHAT SENTENCE MAY BE. BELIEVE ANY

INTEREST

ESMAJOR-20 MAY REVEAL TO THE COURTS WILL DEVELOP

RESPONSE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF THERE IS NO OBJECTION TO

REVEALING WOFIRM INTEREST DIRECTLY IN LIRING-3, THE STATION

CAN SO ADVISE ESMAJOR-20 AND REQUEST HIS HELP.

3. FILE: 201-248917.

S E C R E T

BT

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RID

2P

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION: S E C R E T

PROCESSING ACTION: X MARKED FOR INDEXING | NO INDEXING REQUIRED | ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING | MICROFILM

TO: Chief, Western Hemisphere Division

INFO.

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: PBRUMEN: Activities of LIRING-3, LIRING-4 May through Mid-September 1968

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

201-815842

MICROFILMED
OCT 14 1968
DOC. MICRO. SER.

REF: HMMA 34682, 17 May 1968

Action Required: For your information.

1. Forwarded under separate cover are twelve reports prepared by Wallace B. ROWTON on the activities of LIRING-3, LIRING-4, and contacts of the latter.

2. The main topic covered in ROWTON's reports is LIRING-4's efforts to obtain help in getting LIRING-3 out of jail in Guatemala as soon as possible. LIRING-4 is almost penniless (ROWTON has made only token payments to her after 15 June) and has been moving from one apartment to a cheaper one living on the sale of paintings left by LIRING-3 and small loans from leftist contacts. In the hope that she may be able to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has resisted all of ROWTON's efforts to get her to undertake a clandestine mission to PBRUMEN, a mission, as Headquarters knows, was planned long ago. As a foreigner, LIRING-4 cannot work in Mexico without taking the chance of being deported, if caught. Although she has not tried it, she would probably be refused a visa to go to Guatemala to visit LIRING-3. She might also face difficulties in Guatemala including possible detention and interrogation if she succeeded in obtaining an entry permit to that country.

3. By mid-September 1968 LIRING-4 had received very little help from her Mexican leftist or outright Communist friends. In spite of promises to try to bribe the Guatemalan judge scheduled to try LIRING-3 all LIRING-4's "friends" succeeded in doing was to print several articles in the local press (some of them with LIRING-3's photo) claiming that LIRING-3 was unjustly imprisoned, that he was about to be executed, etc. If anything, these

continued . . . . . .

Attachments: ~~12~~ reports u/s/c #1
4 Iden rpts u/s/c #2

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201-815842

[redacted]

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CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
	HMMA - 35502	26 September 1968
	CLASSIFICATION: S E C R E T	HQS FILE NUMBER: 201-798301

articles did little to prejudice the Guatemalans in favor of LIRING-3. As a matter of fact, the latter who succeeded in sending LIRING-4 a few letters via the Mexican Consul in Guatemala City who comes to visit him in jail, recently claimed that he was saved from a prison "transfer" by the Guatemalan army by the arrival of the Mexican Consul. LIRING-3 viewed this "transfer" purely and simply as an execution attempt.

4. LIRING-4 received even less help from LIRING who told her that there was nothing it could do to help LIRING-3. LIRING-4, on the advice contained in one of the notes sent from prison by LIRING-3, kept away from LIRING and its employees until she met LIRING-10 by accident at the office of one of the leftist papers on 27 July. LIRING-10 convinced her to resume her visits to LIRING. That the local PBRUMENs still have doubts about LIRING-3 despite his imprisonment in Guatemala is indicated by the statements made by Rodolfo REYES (see ROWTON's 17 July report) to the effect that the latter would not be willing to help LIRING-3 until he found out on what side of "el griego" (ROWTON under false identity) he was. REYES added that LIRING suspects the "griego" of WOFIRM connections, although it has no definite proof of this.

5. Statements such as those made by REYES confirm the Station's belief that LIRING, upon orders from home, is still attempting to investigate ROWTON. Such statements also re-enforce the decision of the Station not to attempt, through liaison, to obtain the release of LIRING-3. Such an attempt, if it leaked, would not only expose LIRING-3 to PBRUMEN and Guatemalan FAR reprisals. It would probably also have adverse repercussions on ROWTON's security. LIRING-11 whom ROWTON met briefly on 5 July (see ROWTON's report dated 9 July) said nothing about LIRING-3's arrest when ROWTON complained that mail which he said he sent to LIRING-3 remained unanswered. It is also to be noted that REYES, who of course knows that LIRING-4 is in Mexico, told ROWTON that she was probably in PBRUMEN. This shows clearly the distrust with which LIRING views ROWTON.

6. LIRING-4 developed close relationship with Orlando SUAREZ of the Ministry of Culture now in Mexico at the invitation of the Mexican Communist mural painter David ALFARO Siqueiros. By mid-September, in fact, SUAREZ was staying at LIRING-4's apartment although LIRING-4 claimed to ROWTON that there was no romancing between the two and that SUAREZ used her apartment because he was too broke to get one of his own. In view of LIRING-4's assessment of SUAREZ as very leftist and pro-AMTHUG-1 no effort was made to approach him.

7. Contacts between ROWTON and LIRING-4 have taken place with decreasing frequency because the usefulness of LIRING-4 to WOFIRM has sharply decreased and because LIRING-4 is more and more convinced that ROWTON cannot or will not help her obtain the release of LIRING-3. In her frantic efforts to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has in fact not had any contact with ROWTON since early September. Unless LIRING-3 is released by the Guatemalan authorities or receives only a light sentence keeping him in jail only a short time longer, it is doubtful that LIRING-4 will be of much use to ROWTON and the Station.

David D. Falkner (signature)
for Willard C. CURTIS

SECRET

17 May,1968

Subject: Wallace B. Rowton Meeting with LIRING/4.

1. Rowton met with LIRING/4 at the Punto Blanco Restaurant from about 1900 until 2015 on 16/5/68. LIRING/4 had telephoned Rowton's answering service and left a message that "Dr. Barragán would see him at his office"at that time and date.

2. LIRING/4 reported that she had learned that seven Guatemalans residing in Mexico City had been arrested along with Rodolfo Sandoval. She had learned this from Manuel Marcué Pardiñas but was not able to learn the identities of the other seven. She recalled that Marcué had said that Sandoval had been arrested on 5 May,1968, just after his wife had arrived from Guatemala, and that he, Marcué,was burdened with the support not only of Francisco Lara's family (wife,mother and children) but now of Sandoval's wife. LIRING/4 understood that Marcué had moved these dependents into one of his several houses in the city. LIRING/4 added that finally she decided to avoid any further contact with Marcué since he has become a complete nuisance, telephoning and droppping in unannounced at all hours of the night.

3. LIRING/4 also reported that she had obtained a job at the Secretaría de Comercio y Industria,paying 1,200 pesos permonth, through Sergio Gonzalez Marin, and had started working regular hours (1000-1400) on 13/5/68. When she,however, mentioned this to Zacosta (FNU,phon.),Director of the office of Relaciones Culturales of the Sec Relaci nes Exteriores, he told her to quit the job immediately since it was not legal for her to work, particularly in a government office where official records were kept. He promised to help her find a job where she could work on the Q.T. without jeopardizing her immi ration status.

4. LIRING/4 also reported that she had received three short notes from LIRING/3 mailed from the prison where he is being detained. She stated that she was reassured by these letters that L/3 is in reasonably good health, despite the fact that he and his fellow arrestees were not given any food for nine days following their arrest on 13/4/68.

5. LIRING/4 stated that she had talked to LIRING/2 after his return from PBRUMEN and found him very suntanned and thinner. L/2 told her that he had been cutting cane and had gotten engaged to a local woman while he was "on vacation". L/2 stated that he most probably would remain in Mexico through the Olympics,although he did not state when he planned to get married. L/2 regretted that he and his office could not help L/4 financially,but he encouraged L/4 to visit the office whenever she wished.

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6. LIRING/4 also told Rowton that she had managed to find a suitable apartment in the Edificio Condesa, Letra A, #6, for 1,100 pesos per month, throug her friend, Blanca Peña, who lives in apartment 2 of Letra O. She added that she had overcome the problem of the fiador by applying to a sr. Muñoz who advertised in the newspaper and provided her with a certain sra. Gloria Beltrán, Calle Tajin 24, Col. Narverte (at a fee of 330 pesos). She also stated that she has already given the administrator of the edificio Condesa at 300 peso "gratificación" to hold the apartment until she can arrange the fiador contract.

7. Rowton then suggested that LIRING/4 might consider making her trip to PBRUMEN in the near future since it appeared to him an ideal time. L/4 replied that, although she felt obliged to make the trip in view of her previo s commitment to Rowton, she felt it premature. She stressed her continued anxiety over the welfare of L/3, commenting that she was the only person who could be counted on to correspond with him, and that such correspondence from PBRUMEN would be very difficult and slow. Rowton then suggested that perhaps L/4 might be able to obtain a visa to visit L/3 for a short time to discuss with him the desirability of the trip and arrange to provide him with paints and canvasses. L/4 agreed that this woul ease her mind and permit her to make the trip to PBRUMEN with less concern but she wondered whether a trip to Guatemala, provided, of course, that sh could get the visa, might possibly make matters worse for L/3 since L/4 would have to travel on her PBRUMEN passport. Rowton agreed with this and su gested the following: (a) L/4 write immediately to the Mexican Consul asking him his opinion and requesting him to check it out with L/3; (b) L/4 discuss the matter soonest with L/2, explaining that she has decided to make her trip to PBRUMEN during L/3's imprisonment but that she hoped to visit him before leaving Mexico. L/4 agreed and added that she would invite L/2 to dinner at the home of Blanca Peña (de Amand) where sh was currently staying as a house guest.

8. Rowton stressed that he did not wish under any circumst nces to "force L/4 to make the trip to PBRUMEN, but he felt the time most opportune and he was not in a position financially to assist L/4 to any significant degree if she remained in Mexico. Rowton added that he failed to see how L/4 could earn enough in any "unofficial" job she might obtain. L/4 agreed to think the matter over and give Rowton her decision at their next meeting scheduled for 1300 on 20/5/68.

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Wallace B. Rowton

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20 May, 1968

Subject: LIRING/4 Report of Conversation with LIRING/2.

1. At 1300 on 20 May, 1968, LIRING/4 reported to Rowton at the Punto Blanco restaurant that she had seen LIRING/2 at the LIRING offices and, as instructed by Rowton, discussed with him her difficult financial situation resulting from the detention of LIRING/3. She then stated that she was seriously considering taking her long planned trip to PBRUMEN, since there she would be able to resolve the problem of living expenses. LIRING/2 sympathized with her but asked her not to make any rash decision. He pointed out that although her temporary financial problem would be solved, the moral obligation she had to follow LIRING/3's case from as close to Guatemala as possible would argue in favor of her waiting a little more. LIRING/4 told Rowton that she felt that LIRING/2 was prompted to say this in light of a comment she had just made to him that a certain Lic. Castillo, a Guatemalan lawyer affiliated with the Mexican Embassy in Guatemala City, had gotten in touch with her over the weekend and told her he had come to Mexico City in connection with LIRING/3's case which he was handling at the request of the Embassy. (LIRING/4 told Rowton that Castillo was staying in room 904 of the El Presidente Hotel and that she talked to him there for about 15 minutes.)

2. LIRING/2 then said that he would do everything he could to find some sort of work to help LIRING/4 financially. He commented that work in the LIRING offices proper was out of the question, since the only persons emplyed there now are party members sent from the PBRUMEN capital. He aided, however, that he would propose to the LIRING "consejo" that LIRING/4 be given a position in the outside cultural office. He stressed that he could not promise anything, but he would do what he could to convince the powers that be.

3. LIRING/4 promised Rowton to press LIRING/2 for this job since it would indicate the extent to which the LIRING Chief trusted her and give her some official access to the establishment, limited though it might be.

W.B. Rowton

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12 June,1968

Subject: WALLACE B. Rowton Meeting with LIRING/4.

1. Rowton met with LIRING/4 at the Diana Restaurant,Calle Mississippi, from 1300 until about 1410 on 11 June,1968. LIRING/4 reported that she had finally moved into the apartment in the Edificio Condesa with the few pieces of furniture of the Tacubaya apartment. She stated that she intended to remain in close touch with her friend Blanca Peña de Amand and, of course, Catalina Cepero, at whose homes she hoped to be able to take her main meals. LIRING/4 added that she was still attempting to find some sort of work to help her meet her expenses, as well as to find a person, preferably a PBRUMEN student, to rent a room in her apartment.

2. With regard to employment LIRING/4 stated that LIRING/2 had told her the previous week that his recommendation that she been employed in the (outside) LIRING cultural office had been turned down and consequently she had appealed to Mexican friends to help her find employment. She also told Rowton that she had queried LIRING/2 about PBRUMEN students who might share her apartment but was told that the only female students (two) at present in Mexico were studying in Pátzcuaro.

3. LIRING/4 continued that she had been receiving letters regularly from LIRING/3 directly from his place of confinement. She showed Rowton a portion of one of the letters in which LIRING/3 stated that there were about 2,000 prisoners in all and that he feels obliged to share whatever food he can purchase with the money sent to him by LIRING/4 with six others who are closest to him and whose relatives cannot provide even the essentials of a basic diet. According to LIRING/4, LIRING/3 has not complained about what appear to be very difficult conditions but has revealed his constant fear of physical violence, the threat of which he feels hangs over the prison. LIRING/4 told Rowton that she had finally obtained officially notarized statements from the proper Mexican authorities testifying to LIRING/3's bona fides as an artist, as requested by the Mexican Consul. She gave Rowton a letter from the latter which requests this information(copy of which is attached).

4. LIRING/4, in reply to Rowton's queries, stated that she still hoped to be able to make the trip to PBRUMEN but could not consider leaving Mexico at this time in view of LIRING/3's situation and the fact that she was the only point of contact he had on the outside. Rowton sympathized with her but stressed that his ability to help her financially was limited by her

SEC

performance in terms of the contract between them. Rowton reminded LIRING/4 that he contract had terminated as of 15 May, 1968, and could be extended only on the condition that she would be able to make the trip. He added that he felt he could pay her for the period 15 May until 15 June, 1968, but that would have to constitute a final payment unless LIRING/4 could commit herself to future production. Rowton added that in addition he would have to deduct the 1,875 pesos he gave to her as a travel advance inasmuch as this money was not used for the purpose intended.

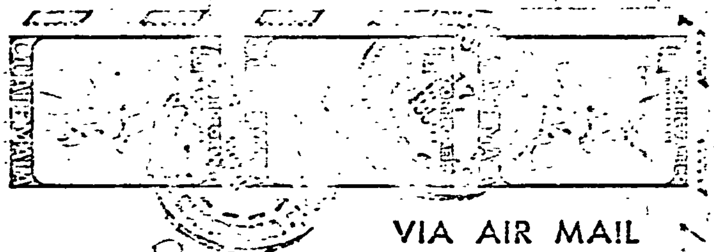
5. LIRING/4 replied that, much to her regret, she could not make any firm commitment regarding the trip at the moment. She stated that she was attempting to maintain friendly relations with the LIRING personnel but had to be cautious in the light of LIRING/3's admonition to her to avoid contact with the establishment ("la casa grande" as he described it. She then stated that she had attended a play on the evening of 7 June at which she met socially with LIRING personnel in the audience. She added that LIRING/10 greeted her cordially and that she spoke briefly with LIRING/9 and LIRING/13 as well as LIRING/16. LIRING/4 also stated that she had learned from LIRING/17, who had just returned from an unexpected TDY that their mutual friend "Echemendía" had been called up on the carpet for the inferior job he had done during his last commercial mission to Mexico City. LIRING/4 also reported that she had been given a very brief note from her friend Yolanda hand-carried by LIRING/17 in which Yolanda wrote that she as still hoping that LIRING/4 would be able to make the trip.

ROWTON COMMENT: Rowton feels that LIRING/4 will make the trip to PBRUMEN wit in the next two months or sooner, provided she is assured that LIRING/3 is resigned to his fate and that everything has been done to support his appeal. Rowton has told LIRING/4 that he can give her only minimum financial support in the future, and that only on behalf of LIRING/3. Rowton feels that LIRING/4 will have great difficulty supporting herself even on a subsistence level during the next month, and will probably reconsider her decision regarding the trip. Rowton feels he should not put any direct pressure on LIRING/4 in the light of her personal situation.

SECRET Wallace B. Rowton

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[illegible]MA. DEJA R[illegible] [illegible]S [illegible]. [illegible]
[illegible]YAS A LA C[illegible] GRANDE. URGENTE
ENVIES DIRECTAMENTE [illegible] [illegible].
BESOS : CARLOS



VIA AIR MAIL

Srta.
BLANCA PEÑA
EDIFICIO CON[illegible]SA LETRA "C" DEPTO. 2
AV. VERACRUZ Y MATEHUALA
(ENTRADA POR MATEHUALA)
MEXICO 11. D.F.

SECRET

SECRET

Ing. Octavio R. Serrano
Cónsul General de México

Guatemala, 21 de mayo de 1958.

Sra. Miriam Chichay de Jurado.
México, D. F.

Estimada Sra:

Me refiero a su grata carta de 17 del actual para informar a Ud. que Carlos se encuentra sin novedad, su aspecto físico es inmejorable y su ánimo muy levantado, pues ha sabido asimilar esta emergencia con filosofía.

Respecto a su situación, estamos bastante optimistas pues confiamos ampliamente en la rectitud del juez. Yá se presentaron tres testigos de descargo y el el curso de la presente semana se tomará declaración a otros dos. Hemos corrido con la suerte de que para todas las diligencias los plazos se han acortado al máximo.

Ni un solo momento lo hemos dejado solo, tanto a él como a Manuel, pues constantemente se les ha estado visitando, unas veces nuestro Encargado de Negocios, otras nuestro abogado asesor y el suscrito.

Su carta anterior la recibió en propias manos y tambien le informé de la tarjeta que Ud. me puso.

Tanto la Sra. Marcué de Persabal, como la esposa de Manuel, los estuvieron visitando casi a diario durante su estancia en ésta. No les ha faltado nada pues la Sra. Marcué dejó 175 dolares para que se les estuviera proviendo de lo necesario. A Carlos se le llevó un block para dibujo que pidió y se les llevan periodicamente cigarros, etc.

El jueves iré a verlos de nuevo y yá le informaré de su carta.

No creo que sea necesario que venga Ud. pues puede tener la seguridad de que estamos haciendo todo lo que está en nuestras manos por resolverles su situación a la brevedad posible. No sería de lo malo que esté Ud. en contacto con la Sría de Relaciones para estar al tanto del caso, pues estoy informando constantemente del curso del proceso. Creo que será cuestión de más o menos tiempo pero tengo confianza en que todo se resolverá favorablemente.

Por conducto de la esposa de Manuel le envié recado que sería conveniente enviara una constancia de Bellas Artes abonando la conducta de su esposo y que este documento lo llevara a legalizar ante el Consulado de Guatemala en México (Vallarta # 1) pues ayudaría mucho para probar su solvencia moral.

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Perdóneme si con anterioridad no le había informado, pero consideré que era innecesario hacerlo mientras no se tuviera algo concreto como es la declaración de los testigos de descargo.

Tenga confianza y calma que estamos viendo éste caso con profundo interés y simpatía.

Le ruego saludar de mi parte a mi buen amigo Daniel (su suegro) de quien hace tiempo no tengo noticias y decirle que su amigo de Arriaga lo recuerda con afecto.

Procuraré tenerla informada y puede escribirme cuantas veces lo desee.

Suyo afmo. atto. y S. S.

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Clarina mía:

Estoy [illegible] el [illegible] para [illegible] que [illegible] [illegible] de los niños? [illegible] [illegible]

(SEA CUAL FUERE LA

[illegible] a la prisión [illegible] directamente. [illegible] Toda la correspondencia está censurada.

Lee la carta que mandaste al [illegible].

NO SE TE OCURRA POR NINGUN MOTIVO SALIR DE MEXICO.

Recibe Todo mi Cariño

Carlos

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SEC...

18 June, 1968

CONTACT REPORT

1. Agent: LIRING/4
2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1300, 18/6/68; Diana Restaurant.
3. Date and Site of Next Meeting: 1030, 20/6/68; Diana Restaurant.
4. Information/Reports Passed by Agent: LIRING/4 reported to Rowton that she had received two distressing letters from LIRING/3 complaining about the miserable conditions under which he is living - very meager food, unsanitary quarters, and the constant fear of physical violence. LIRING/4 showed Rowton a paragraph of one of the letters in which LIRING/3 asks her to appeal to the "socio" to influence the judge by a gratificación of 100 quetzals so that he would dismiss the case when it finally came to trial early the following month. LIRING/3 stated that the judge to be influenced was a certain Juan Sanchez, Oficial Tercero del Juzgado Cuarto de Primera Instancia. LIRING/3 added that he felt there was no other solution, since it had become evident that the Mexican Embassy could do nothing to speed up the final release and that if Rowton could not intervene, anything could happen.

   LIRING/4 also reported that she had been asked by LIRING/9 to see him the next day (19/6/68) at his office. She did not know the purpose of the invitation, but assumed LIRING/9 wanted to be briefed on the latest developments in the LIRING/3 case.
5. Information/Guidance Given to Agent: Rowton sympathized with LIRING/4 in her distress over the desperate situation being faced by LIRING/3 but stressed that intervention on his part was not as easy as LIRING/3 might think. He pointed out that since LIRING/4 to date had not been able to make the [illegible] trip he could not ask his own colleagues in Europe to intervene through their Guatemalan government contacts and that therefore anything that he could do himself would not be effective. LIRING/4 did not volunteer any indication of her intention regarding the trip, and Rowton felt he could not press her in view of her frame of mind at the time. He suggested that they meet again after LIRING/4 talked with LIRING/9 in the hope that the latter might make some important comments on the case.

SEC

W. Rowton

SECR

9 July,1968

Subject: Wallace B. Rowton Meeting with LIRING/11.

1. After several days of attempts by Rowton to met with LIRING/11 in the vicinity of his (LIRING/11's) residence(which is about six blocks from Rowton's home) Rowton finally succeeded at about 1600 on 5 July,1968.

2. Rowton hadchecked the home address of LIRING/11 about 1550 that day and when he had found that LIRING/11's car had not beeen parked in front, hailed a cab passing in the opposite direction. As an after-thought,however, Rowton asked the cab to go around the block on the off chance that he might catch LIRING/11 approaching his home from the intersection of Gutenberg and Ejercito Nacional. Fortunately just as Rowton's cab approached LIRING/11's apartment house, he spotted LIRING/11 alighting from his car in front of the building. Rowton stopped the cab and ran over to greet LIRING/11.

3. LIRING/11 although obviously surprised at seeing Rowton in that area, responded cordially. Rowton alleged that he had been in Switzerland and Canada most of the time since he had last seen LIRING/11, and to his regret had lost contact withthe mutual friends?LIRING/3 and Iden A. Rowton continued that he had written LIRING/3 at least five letters from Europe but had not received any answer, and had found that he had moved from his Atoyac address as well as his Tacubaya studio. LIRING/11 did not volunteer any information concerning the whereabouts of LIRING/3 but immediately gave Rowton the news that Iden A was working at a sort of night club (giving the name and street on which it was located.)

4. Rowton then said that he had hoped to be able to invite LIRING/11 to lunch but he had to take a short trip to Nuevo Larddo to attempt to arrange for the purchase of a car. (This was thrown out as bait ~~xxxxx~~ in view of a comment by LIRING/4 that LIRING/11 was scheduled to return PCS and would have to sell his car). LIRING/11 did not react to this, simply suggesting that Rowton get in touch with him as soon as Rowton returned.

5. Rowton then returned to the waiting cab and continued his trip, taking the opportunity to mention to the driver in the course of conversation that he was a businessman from Europe (Switzerland) who often visited Mexico.

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W[illegible] ... Liring-4

Wallace BRowton P.11,264

SEC...

9 July, 1968

Subject: LIRING/4 Report of activities.

1. Rowton met with LIRING/4 at 1900 on 8 July, 1968, at the Sears Restaurant on Insurgentes. He had not seen her for the previous ten days because of his leave (28/6/68-5/7/68).

2. LIRING/4 reported that an old friend, Iden A, had arrived the previous week from the ISRUMEN capital, and that she had seen him several times prior to his moving to Cuernavaca. She commented that Iden A was divorced and lived alone (his wife having been a notorious model of loose morals). She added that his apparent age is 40, and that he must have political influence since he obtained a six-month exit permit following the invitation of Siqueiros.

3. LIRING/4 then related that she received a message early in the previous week that Iden A was trying to get in touch with her and she accordingly went to the LIRING offices on 27/6/68 to find his address. When she entered the office of LIRING/9, she found it crowded and was on the point of leaving (after getting the address of Iden A) when LIRING/9 approached her and asked her to take a ride in his car so that he could "chat" with her. LIRING/4 told Rowton that she assumed that LIRING/9 was enroute to one of the Secretariats in a rush and had asked her to accompany him to that he could save time by talking to her on the way. She was therefore surprised when he drove her to the Vaca Negra on Insurgentes and later returned with her to the offic

4. According to LIRING/4, LIRING/9 asked her routine questions as to how she was making out living as she was on her own. LIRING/4 relied that she was doing the best she could to raise enough money to survive, through part-time work arranged by Sra. Chumaceira of Artes Plasticas, the sale of some of LIRING/3's paintings and financial help from her father (all of which is partly true). She then asked LIRING/9 for a "loan" to tide her over the week-end, to which he responded with a 100 peso bill. LIRING/9 commented that things were going well with his office financially as a result of the increased fees. He dropped the figure $6,000 (US) as receipts for the previous mont LIRING/4 asked Rowton for his opinion as to why LIRING/9 would take off an hour or so on such a busy day to drive her around town, commenting that she herself could not understand his motives. She did not get the impression that he was interested in her "personally" since in that case he would have invited himself to her apartment to asked her out to dinner in the evening

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5. Rowton replied that he assumed that LIRING/9 had received some sort of

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official request from his superiors to determine the conditions under which LIRING/4 was living as well as her general attitude following the arrest of LIRING/3. LIRING/4 promised to continue to see LIRING/9 and her other LIRING friends as often as possible, but stressed that she could not throw herself at them without attracting undue attention.

6. LIRING/4 then continued that when she finally got in touch with Iden A he was most cordial, inviting her for a trip to Cuernavaca, and expressing concern for the welfare of LIRING/3. Iden A commented to LIRING/4 that he had arrived from the [illegible] capital with only twenty Mexican pesos which he had left from a previous trip and that he would have to count on the generosity of Siqueiros for his living expenses during his anticipated three-month stay in Mexico. LIRING/4 told Rowton that she felt certain that Iden A was not a CP member, although she could not as yet determine whether or not her was pro-regime. She explained that at their first meetings she felt it best to steer clear of politics and let Iden A do the talking. LIRING/4 added that she expected to see Iden A whenever he came to Mexico City and if and when she herself could take a brief trip to Cuernavaca (if Rowton feltt that necessary).

7. LIRING/4 then asked whether Rowton had been able to arrange some sort of intervention with the judge who would preside over the court in LIRING/3's case. When Rowton replied that he had asked some of his friends to inform him as to the status of the case, she commented that Iden B had offered to do what he could since he had close friends among the Guatemalans. Rowton suggested that LIRING/4 get in touch with Iden B again and find out as many details as possible concerning the channels he would use both in Mexico City and Guatemala City. LIRING/4 explained that at that point all she knew was that Iden B whom she described as an active member of the CP Mexico, had a close friend among the Guatemalan exiles and that this friend could forward bribe money to the judge through his family in Guatemala City. LIRING/4 promised Rowton that she would try to meet with this Guatemalan to get details from him.

8. LIRING/4 also reported incidentally that LIRING/16 had left PCS and that her friendthe wife of LIRING/17, was planning to go on home leave in the near future. She added that she thought that LIRING/16's replacement was a bit "tonto". LIRING/4 also mentioned that she had learned from Iden A that Iden C had been forced to take "indefinite leave" from her job xxxxxx which was tantamount to dismissal.

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Wallace B. Rowton

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SEC

9 July, 1968

Subject: LIRING/4 Report of Activities.

Iden A is Orlando Suarez, Director de Cultura.

Iden B is Arturo Serrano.

Iden C is Mercedes Morales.

Wallace B. Rowton

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SECRET

12 July,1968

Subject: LIRING/4 Report of Activities.

1. Rowton met with LIRING/4 at a saferoom of the Suites Marne for about two hours on the morning of 10 July and again on 12 July,1968. Rowton attempted to clarify his position for the future with LIRING/4, as well as LIRING/3. He stated that he was doing the best he could to determine the probable outcome of the case of LIRING/3, and stressed that any precipitous intervention, even if could be arranged, might do more harm to LIRING/3 than good at this point. LIRING/4 confessed that her only concern at the moment was somehow to get LIRING/3 out of prison and back to Mexico. She admitted that it was hard for her to be concerned about the future. particularly about either her or LIRING/3's usefulness to Rowton, in view of what had happened to him. She said that she felt he had sacrificed enough during his three month imprisonment in such a "horrible" place, and that Rowton should himself "influence" the judge to speed up the formalities and issue a verdict simply expelling LIRING/3 and his companion. She did not see any other solution in view of the inability of the Mexican Consulate to arrange the release.

2. In reply to Rowton's query, LIRING/4 stated that she had seen Arturo Serrano of the CP Mexico during lunch at his home on 10 and 11 July,1968, and that the latter had told her that he would arrange for the 100 Quetzal bribe to be transmitted to the judge concerned via the CP Mexico and the CP Guatemala. He added that, of course, the bribe would finally be offered by a person in Guatemala completely clean of any CP ties. LIRING/4 continued to Rowton that she then alleged to Serrano that she would telephone her father at once so obtain the money. Serrano suggested that a letter or telegram might be more advisable, at which LIRING/4 wrote a letter to her father in his presence and accepted an offer from him to accompany her to the post office to mail the letter at once. LIRING/4 told Rowton that in fact she does not expect any further financial help from her father (who is unwitting of LIRING/3's situation) since he is very ill with cancer of the throat and in no position to help her at this time.

3. Rowton then expressed to LIRING/4 his doubts that the bribe would work but he agreed that it might be worth trying,particularly through Serrano. Rowton added that if this did not work, there would be only one alternative. Rowton, through his contact in Europe, might be able to approach the Guatemalans on a level higher than the judge and offer to supply them with

SECRET

information on the Guatemalan rebel activities in PBRUMEN. This would of course necessitate LIRING/4's traveling to PBRUMEN and remaining there at least two months to obtain such information. Rowton felt morally certain that through this offer he could arrange for a mild sentence for LIRING/3 and (possibily 6 months, three months of which he has already served) and subsequent expulsion to Mexico.

4. LIRING/4 took this proposal very seriously, at first expressing revulsion at the thought of providing information that would most probably mean the arrest and execution of revolutionaries who might be the subject of her report. but subsequently accepting the idea, when assured by Rowton that he himself would control the dissemination of such information. Rowton stressed that he was presenting this proposal on his own so that he could get her initial reaction. Rowton added that even if this were acceptable to the Guatemalan authorities, the release of LIRING/3 could not be expected for several months this is until LIRING/4 had accomplished her mission in PBRUMEN, although his living conditions might be improved by removal to another prison (if such existed) where he could be treated more humanely.

Rowton Comment: Rowton made the above proposal to LIRING/4 to determine her true attitude toward the release of LIRING/3 and to establish stronger control over her in the event she does make the trip.
Rowton feels that it might be feasible for Guatemala liaison to arrange the eventual release of LIRING/3 or at least to speed up the formalities (in the event that it is planned to issue a stiff sentence) in exchange for the alleged recruitment of LIRING/3's wife who could be sent to PBRUMEN for the collection of information of interest not only to KUBARK but also Guatemala. This would, of course, blow LIRING/4 to the Guatemalans, but this might be the only solution if LIRING/3 is given a long prison term.

Wallace B. Rowton

SECRET

atta' met Jilich-in Iran
JILICH
201-8[illegible]833

SEC[illegible] 17 July.1968

Subject: LIRING/4 Report of Rowton Affiliation with WOFIRM.

1. Rowton met with LIRING/4 at the Duca D'Este tea shop from 1200 until about 1245 on 15/7/68. LIRING/4 stated that she had again spent the week-end in Cuernavaca with Orlando Suarez, staying at the Casino de la Selva with her daughter in a room of an artist friend of Suarez (who had gone to Mexico City for the week-end). She added that she had been to visit the CIDOC (Centro Internacional de Documentación) again with Orlando Suarez and was impressed by its extensive library as well as the leftist orientation of its staff. She recalled the name of the director as Larry Green and one other northamerican McGregor (fnu) from the University of Puebla. She said that she learned in the course of conversation that a group of the students (possibly ten in number) had been invited to PBRUMEN [illegible] from the government there (LIRING/4 said that she did not believe that the PBRUMEN consulate was as yet invloved). LIRING/4 also commented that Orlando Suarez had been invited to give a lecture on PBRUMEN culture (for a fee of 200 pesos) although as yet the date had hot been determined.

2. LIRING/4 then stated that she had again visited the home of Arturo Serrano of the Mexican CP and that on this occasion Serrano's wife had told her that he had succeeded in locating Rodolfo Reyes and had told him about the current financial plight of LIRING/4 and urged him to help her if hee could. Serrano's wife continued that Reyes then remarked: "I won't help her until I find out on what side LIRING/3 is. If he's with "El Griego I won't help since the G-2 of LIRING told me that they suspect him of being with WOFIRM, although they have no proof ("datos"). They also think he's an arms smuggler." Serrano's wife added that Reyes concluded with the statement that if it turns out that LIRING/3 acted on his own, then he would personally go to the LIRING Chief and have him request the President of Mexico to intervene.

3. LIRING/4 stated that although these comments of Rodolfo Reyes were apparently not taken seriously by Serrano or his wife (Serrano at this same occasion offered again to pass bribe money to the CP Guatemala via the CP Mexico), she herself was badly shaken and angry with Reyes whom she described as a homosexual gossip, worse than a woman. She stated that she intended to tell LIRING/9 that Rodolfo Reyes owed her money for the use of her telephone to call the PBRUMEN capital several months previously and had never paid her. Rowton agreed that this would not only serve to collect the badly need[illegible] money but also dispel any notion Reyes might have that Ro[illegible] the telephone call.

W.B. ROWTON

SECRET

18 July, 1968

Subject: LIRING/4 Report on CIDOC, Cuernavaca.

1. Rowton saw LIRING/4 again briefly at 1000, 18/7/68, at the Duca d'Este tea shop, to pass her 600 pesos to forward to LIRING/3 with vitamins.

2. LIRING/4 reported that she was continuing to see Orlando Suarez and hoped to ascertain the exact date when he would be giving the lecture at CIDOC in Cuernavaca. In reply to Rowton's queries, she stated that she had first gotten in contact with CIDOC through Prof. Jerjes Aguirre, whom she and LIRING/3 had known in PBRUMEN where Aguirre had spent some six years (part of the time at the University which LIRING/4 had herself attended). LIRING/4 continued that Aguirre had recently mentioned to her at a chance meeting that he was giving a series of lectures at CIDOC and was being well paid (125.00 US) per lecture. When LIRING/4 met Aguirre again in Cuernavaca he introduced her to the director, a certain Larry Green, and to an American Prof McGregor, who both invited her, LIRING/4, to give a lecture on PBRUMEN women.

3. LIRING/4 told Rowton that, although she was interested in the compensation she felt totally unqualified, and took the occasion of Orlando Suarez' visit to introduce him and recommend that he give a lecture. Orlando Suarez jumped at the chance to make some money to supplement the meager allowance doled out to him by Siqueiros, and is prepared to give the lecture when a definite date is set.

4. LIRING/4 continued that when she casually mentioned this developments to the wife of Arturo Serrano (Ruth), the latter exclaimed: "Oh, don't you know that CIDOC is just an instrument of KOFIRM. You might as well recommend Orlando to the PBPRIME Embassy here." LIRING/4 was shocked by this and after reflection thought is best to repeat the comment to Orlando Suarez. She did this when he visited Mexico City on 15-16 July (and stayed at her apartment). Suarez' only comment was that such people as Ruth Serrano were "sectarian" and whether CIDOC was with KOFIRM or not did not bother him.

5. LIRING/4 also commented incidentally that Ruth Serrano was escorting a group of French journalists from L'Humanité" around town and that she had complained to LIRING/4 that she had been given only 200 pesos by the CP Mexico to cover the expenses (figate!). L/4 recalled that Ruth Serrano had mentioned that these Frenchmen had been to PBRUMEN and were planning to return very shortly.

Wallace B. Rowton

SECRET

14-00000

SE[illegible]

20 July,1968

Subject: Wallace B. Rowton Recontact with RODOLFO REYES.

1. Rowton met Rodolfo Reyes at about 2230 in the dining room of the Vendimia Restaurant and night club (60 calle Liverpool) by design on 15 July,1968. Rowton had previously been informed by LIRING/11 that Reyes was currently working at the Vendimia and felt that he should meet Reyes again to pass along the story that he had given to LIRING/11 that he was unable to locate LIRING/3 or LIRING/4 in the hope that Reyes would disclose LIRING/3's arrest.

2. As soon as Rowton met Reyes the latter invited him to a corner table with what appeared to be superficial cordiality. He asked Rowton how he had located him and appeared a little surprised when Rowton said that LIRING/11 had given him hthename of the night club and the address. Rowton then alleged that he had been away for the past three months in Switzerland and Canada and just the previous week in Monterrey and Nuevo Laredo trying to buy a car (Rowton had given the same story to LIRING/11). Rowton continued that when he returned he had been unable to locate LIRING/3 or his wife and that they had not replied to his letters from Europe.

3. Reyes then revealed that LIRING/3 had been arrested in Guatemala and charged with the murder of three men! Rowton feigned surprise,shock and fear at this news. He told Reyes that this might have serious consequences for his commercial contacts, whose names LIRING/3 might reveal as well as for himself. Reyes then said he thought LIRING/3 was very stupid to get himself arrested in such a country where anything can happen inside as well as outside of jail. In reply to Rowton's query Reyes stated that LIRING/4 was probably in PBRUMEN.

4. When Rowton remarked that he could not believe that LIRING/11 had refused to tell him the news about LIRING/3, Reyes replied that it was quite possible that LIRING/11 did not know about it, especially since he, Reyes, had just leanred about it some three days previously. At this point the conversation was interrupted by the arrival at the table of a negro choreographer and his (white) Mexican wife,who appeared to be close friends of Reyes. Rowton sat with them through the floorshow and in the course of conversation Rowton discovered that the negro was a Cuban who had emigrated to Mexico some fifteen years previously. Neither he nor his wife appeared to be interested in politics. They both seemed dedicated to his career in Bellas Artes.

SECRET Wallace B. Rowton

23 August, 1968

CONTACT REPORT

1. Agent: LIRING/4
2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1700, 21/8/68 and 1600, 22/8/68; Stuites Marne.
3. Next Meeting: 1000, 28/8/68; Duca d'Este coffeeshop.
4. Information/Reports Passed by Agent:

LIRING/4 stated that she had been doing her best to get Mexican leftist writers and artists to show interest in LIRING/3's case by sending telegrams and letters to the Guatemalan government urging his prompt release. She showed Horton the article in Sucesos which she claimed credit for (attached herewith) but did not appear to have any knowledge of the notice in the 5 August edition of the News, commenting that it must have been picked up from articles she had planted in other Mexican papers

LIRING/4 reported that she had purposely avoided direct contact with the LIRING office, especially during the student demonstrations, since it appeared to be closely watched by the local police. She stated that she was maintaining some contact, however, through her friendship with Iden A, who called on her whenever he came to Mexico City and on occasion stayed at her apartment overnight. She added that Iden A generally stayed at the apartment of LIRING/2 when he was in town although he commented to her that he felt he was imposing on LIRING/2 and his roomates in the already crowded quarters. LIRING/4 added that Iden A informed her that LIRING/9 had returned to PBRUMEN AND was remaining there during the student unrest "in order to protect himself", implying that LIRING/9 had been in direct touch with some of the student leaders and could not afford to compromise himself and his office by his physical presence in Mexico City during the demonstrations.

In reply to Horton's query, LIRING/4 stated that although Iden A appeared to be quite liberal in his views and mixed easily with all sorts of people he ran into, he was definitely a "revolutionary" at heart and she assumed loyal to the present PBRUMEN GOVERNMENT.

LIRING/4 aslo reported that she hoped to persude and influential lawyer from Chiapas to travel to Guatemala City on her behalf

to investigate LIRING/3's case and possibly influence the judge in his favor. She added that she was quite sure that the lawyer, who was a personal friend of LIRING/3, would take the case without a fee, but she felt obliged to offer to cover his expenses. Rowton suggested that she talk this over with the family of Iden 3 who would also benefit from any success the lawyer might have.

5. Administrative: LIRING/4 told Rowton that she had spent a "considerable" amount of money (some 300 pesos) in telegrams, postage stamps and vitamins for LIRING/3 since his arrest. She stated that she was able to survive and meet these expenses by supplementing the money given to her by Rowton through the sale of works produced by LIRING/3 and sent to her periodcially. Rowton asked LIRING/4 to keep account of such incidental expenses, since he felt it better to charge these items off as operational expenses rather than to continue to charge money given to her on LIRING/3's behalf simply as "sorvicios".

Wallace B. Rowton

14-00000

SECRET

23 August, 1968

Iden A: Orlando Suarez

Iden B: Carlos Perzabal

WBR

Wallace B. Rowton

SECRET

SUCESOS

Por AZOR

Y SUCEDIDOS



Carlos Perzabal, catedrático de la Universidad de México, y Carlos Jurado Delmar, destacado pintor mexicano, son víctimas de la cacería de brujas instaurada en Guatemala con extremos que llegan al absurdo.

Los dos mexicanos están propiamente s e c uestrados por las autoridades guatemaltecas desde el 15 de abril del año en curso. Se les hacen una serie de cargos dignos de la mentalidad de un mosquito. Desde luego, como es costumbre en estos casos, cuatro meses después de su ilegal aprehensión ni siquiera han sido puestos a disposición de un juez que los juzgue.

El licenciado Antonio Carrillo Flores, nuestro secretario de Relaciones Exteriores, ha venido interviniendo en defensa de estos infortunados compatriotas, pero hasta ahora sus gestiones oficiales no han sido atendidas debidamente por el gobierno de Guatemala.

Para que usted, lector, tenga idea del atropello incalificable de que son víctimas los dos mexicanos, publicamos copia de la carta que Carlos Jurado Delmar y Carlos Perzabal dirigieron recientemente a la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la ONU:

Comisión por los Derechos Humanos.

ONU.

Por este medio nos dirigimos a ustedes, pidiéndoles su intervención en nuestro caso.

El día 13 de abril de 1968, mientras nos dirigíamos pacíficamente a la República del Salvador y Honduras, fuimos detenidos con lujo de violencia por elementos del Ejército de Guatemala, en un lugar llamado "El Cable" a cuatro kilómetros escasamente de la frontera de México con Guatemala denominada "La Mesilla".

De ahí, llevados a un lugar llamado "Buenos Aires" donde permanecimos por una noche sujetos a torturas físicas y morales. Al día siguiente fuimos conducidos en un avión (No. 540) de la FAG a la ciudad capital, donde quedamos encarcelados en el 2o. Cuerpo de la Policía Nacional, sujetos también a torturas físicas y morales que hicieron y hacen peligrar nuestra vida.

Tan obvio es el error cometido con nosotros, que a pesar de que nuestra detención se llevó a cabo desde el día 13 de abril, como puede ser probado fácilmente con testigos presenciales y desde entonces mantenidos en prisión, el gobierno guatemalteco nos acusa de haber sido detenidos el día 17 del mismo mes, en las calles de la ciudad. ¡¡Repartiendo propaganda subversiva!! Incongruencia mayor no cabe en ninguna mente que se precie de normal.

Desde el día 26 de abril de 1968 fuimos confinados al campo de concentración de Pavón, m a l llamado "Granja Penal". Donde las condiciones de vida para los reclusos y la violencia al que están sometidos, son espeluznantes como puede ser fácilmente comprobado por la H. Comisión de los Derechos Humanos.

Hemos sido sujetos a un "juicio" que el gobierno guatemalteco alarga deliberadamente con el único propósito de cubrir su error y a la vez perjudicarnos; por ésto y sobre todo por considerar en grave peligro nuestra integridad física, pedimos la rápida intervención de la H. Comisión de los Derechos Humanos para que se exija nuestra inmediata libertad.

Atentamente, Cárcel de Pavón, Guatemala, Julio 68.

Carlos Jurado, P i n t o r Miembro del Salón de la Plástica Mexicana.

Carlos Perzabal, Catedrático de la Universidad de México.

●

El actual ministro de Relaciones Exteriores de Guatemala, licenciado Emilio Arenales Catalán, ha sido mencionado varias veces como candidato a presidir la Comisión de Derechos Humanos de la ONU. Ojalá no espere a obtener ese cargo para intervenir en este caso, que según parece es de su especialidad.

●



CARLOS JURADO DELMAR, secuestrado por las autoridades guatemaltecas



LIC. ANTONIO CARRILLO FLORES en defensa de dos mexicanos en desgracia



CARLOS PERZABAL, secuestrado por las autoridades ...

29 August, 1968

CONTACT REPORT

1. Agent: LIRING/4
2. Date and Site of Meeting: 1000, 28/8/68; Duca d'Este Tearoom.
3. Next Meeting: Same time and place, 2/9/68.
4. Information/Reports Passed by Agent:

LIRING/4 informed Rowton that she had run into LIRING/10 and his assistant, Iden A, the previous afternoon (27/8/68) at about 1345 at the office of the director of Siempre, where she had gone in connection with added publicity for LIRING/3. She stated that LIRING/10 greeted her cordially with an abrazo and asked how she was doing. He seemed genuinely disturbed to hear that things were no better, and commented that he had been hearing about her from time to time from Iden B, but felt that she should make her problems known to the LIRING office herself. When LIRING/4 commented that Iden C had told her and Iden B that it might be wiser for her to avoid contact openly with the LIRING office, LIRING/10 brushed this off, remarking that he felt it would be perfectly alright for LIRING/4 to come in whenever she felt it necessary for moral and whatever material help could be offered.

LIRING/4 told Rowton that in view of this comment of LIRING/10, she visited the LIRING office early that same morning (28/8/68) and found that LIRING/2 had returned from his TDY. She said that LIRING/2 greeted her cordially as usual, but he apparently did not have time to chat with her on that occasion.

5. Information/Guidance Given to Agent:

Rowton asked LIRING/4 to follow up on her contact with LIRING/10, especially since he appeared so friendly. Rowton suggested that L/4 ask L/10 to appeal to the Director of Siempre to give L/3's case good publicity. L/4 promised to do so and commented that L/10 appeared to be quite chummy with the director and apparently had a luncheon date with him for that same day.

Wallace B. Rowton

SECRET

29 August, 1968

Iden's of LIRING/4 Contact Report

Iden A: Felix Luna Mederos

Iden B: Orlando Suarez

Iden C: Jesus Cruz Gonzalez

WBR

Wallace B. Rowton

14-00000

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION	PROCESSING ACTION
SECRET	X MARKED FOR INDEXING
	NO INDEXING REQUIRED
	ONLY QUALIFIED DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING
	MICROFILM

TO: Chief, Western Hemisphere Division

INFO.

FROM: Chief of Station, Mexico City

SUBJECT: PBRUMEN: Activities of LIRING-3, LIRING-4 May through Mid-September 1968

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

REF: HMMA 34682, 17 May 1968

Action Required: For your information.

1. Forwarded under separate cover are twelve reports prepared by Wallace B. ROWTON on the activities of LIRING-3, LIRING-4, and contacts of the latter.

2. [illegible] efforts to obtain help in getting LIRING-3 out of jail in Guatemala as soon as possible. LIRING-4 is almost penniless (ROWTON has made only token payments to her after 15 June) and has been moving from one apartment to a cheaper one living on the sale of paintings left by LIRING-3 and small loans from leftist contacts. In the hope that she may be able to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has resisted all of ROWTON's efforts to get her to undertake a clandestine mission to PBRUMEN, a mission, as Headquarters knows, was planned long ago. As a foreigner, LIRING-4 cannot work in Mexico without taking the chance of being deported, if caught. Although she has not tried it, she would probably be refused a visa to go to Guatemala to visit LIRING-3. She might also face difficulties in Guatemala including possible detention and interrogation if she succeeded in obtaining an entry permit to that country.

3. By mid-September 1968 LIRING-4 had received very little help from her Mexican leftist or outright Communist friends. In spite of promises to try to bribe the Guatemalan judge scheduled to try LIRING-3 all LIRING-4's "friends" succeeded in doing was to print several articles in the local press (some of them with LIRING-3's photo) claiming that LIRING-3 was unjustly imprisoned, that he was about to be executed, etc. If anything, these

continued . . . . . .

Attachments: 12 reports u/s/c #1
4 Iden rpts u/s/c #2

Distribution:
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201-798301

CROSS REFERENCE TO	DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	DATE
	HMMA - 35502	26 September 1968
	CLASSIFICATION	HQS FILE NUMBER
	SECRET	201-798301

articles did little to prejudice the Guatemalans in favor of LIRING-3. As a matter of fact, the latter who succeeded in sending LIRING-4 a few letters via the Mexican Consul in Guatemala City who comes to visit him in jail, recently claimed that he was saved from a prison "transfer" by the Guatemalan army by the arrival of the Mexican Consul. LIRING-3 viewed this "transfer" purely and simply as an execution attempt.

4. LIRING-4 received even less help from LIRING who told her that there was nothing it could do to help LIRING-3. LIRING-4, on the advice contained in one of the notes sent from prison by LIRING-3, kept away from LIRING and its employees until she met LIRING-10 by accident at the office of one of the leftist papers on 27 July. LIRING-10 convinced her to resume her visits to LIRING. That the local PBRUMENs still have doubts about LIRING-3 despite his imprisonment in Guatemala is indicated by the statements made by Rodolfo REYES (see ROWTON's 17 July report) to the effect that the latter would not be willing to help LIRING-3 until he found out on what side of "el griego" (ROWTON under false identity) he was. REYES added that LIRING suspects the "griego" of WOFIRM connections, although it has no definite proof of this.

5. Statements such as those made by REYES confirm the Station's belief that LIRING, upon orders from home, is still attempting to investigate ROWTON. Such statements also reenforce the decision of the Station not to attempt, through liaison, to obtain the release of LIRING-3. Such an attempt, if it leaked, would not only expose LIRING-3 to PBRUMEN and Guatemalan FAR reprisals. It would probably also have adverse repercussions on ROWTON's security. LIRING-11 whom ROWTON met briefly on 5 July (see ROWTON's report dated 9 July) said nothing about LIRING-3's arrest when ROWTON complained that mail which he said he sent to LIRING-3 remained unanswered. It is also to be noted that REYES, who of course knows that LIRING-4 is in Mexico, told ROWTON that she was probably in PBRUMEN. This shows clearly the distrust with which LIRING views ROWTON.

6. LIRING-4 developed close relationship with Orlando *SUAREZ of the Ministry of Culture now in Mexico at the invitation of the Mexican Communist mural painter David ALFARO Siqueiros. By mid-September, in fact, SUAREZ was staying at LIRING-4's apartment although LIRING-4 claimed to ROWTON that there was no romancing between the two and that SUAREZ used her apartment because he was too broke to get one of his own. In view of LIRING-4's assessment of SUAREZ as very leftist and pro-AMTHUG-1 no effort was made to approach him.

7. Contacts between ROWTON and LIRING-4 have taken place with decreasing frequency because the usefulness of LIRING-4 to WOFIRM has sharply decreased and because LIRING-4 is more and more convinced that ROWTON cannot or will not help her obtain the release of LIRING-3. In her frantic efforts to do something for LIRING-3, LIRING-4 has in fact not had any contact with ROWTON since early September. Unless LIRING-3 is released by the Guatemalan authorities or receives only a light sentence keeping him in jail only a short time longer, it is doubtful that LIRING-4 will be of much use to ROWTON and the Station.

for Willard C. CURTIS

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SECRET 26 22 37 Z SEP 68 CITE DIRECTOR 36584

TO MEXICO CITY, GUATEMALA CITY

RYBAT TYPIC LIRING

REF: MEXICO CITY 7335 (IN 99476)*

1. ROWTON RETURN STILL UNCERTAIN PENDING RESOLUTION DEVELOPMENT ACCESS TO AMCAGE/1.

2. RE LIRING/4, ROWTON COULD SEND MONEY OSTENSIBLY FROM L/4'S FATHER IN NEW YORK TO BAIL HER OUT OF PRESENT DESPERATE SITUATION, BUT THIS WOULD BE ONLY TEMPORARY SOLUTION IN ADDITION INHERENT SECURITY RISKS (FATHER IS REPORTEDLY HOSPITALIZED AND NOT IN POSITION PROVIDE FINANCIAL HELP AT THIS TIME). L/4'S REFUGE IN LIRING ESTABLISHMENT, ON OTHER HAND, WHICH ROWTON COULD NOT CONVINCE HER TO TAKE AS LONG AS HE WAS GIVING HER MONEY, WILL SERVE TO IMPROVE HER ACCESS AND MAY LEAD TO REPATRIATION. ROWTON FEELS LATTER EVENTUALITY LIKELY ONLY IN EVENT HIS CONTINUED FAILURE RECONTACT HER SINCE L/4 WOULD POSSIBLY HAVE NO OTHER ALTERNATIVE. IN THAT CASE, REBRIEFING AND RESUPPLY S/W PRECLUDED PRIOR DEPARTURE. ROWTON COULD DEBRIEF L/4 UPON HER RETURN MEXICO IF AND WHEN LIRING/3 RELEASED FROM PRISON AND CONTACT REESTABLISHED.

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26 Sept 68
201-798301

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PAGE TWO

CITE DIRECTOR 36584

TO

3. FOR GUATEMALA: WOULD APPRECIATE RECOMMENDATIONS RE POSSIBILITY EARLY RELEASE OF LIRING/3 AND ASSOCIATE FROM JAIL. AWARE WOFIRM INTEREST MUST BE SHOWN AT HIGH LEVEL BUT [illegible] OFFICIALS COULD ALLEGE MEXICAN GOVT INTEREST TO THEIR SUBORDINATES AS BASIS OF RELEASE.

4. FILE 201-798301.

END OF MESSAGE

* RYBAT

WH/COG

William V. Broe
C/WH
RELEASING OFFICER

C/WH/2/~~Guatemala~~

COORDINATING OFFICERS

W. J. Kaufman
C/WH/1
AUTHENTICATING OFFICER

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HMMA-35523
50-120-13
30 September 68

A. LIRING-3: LIRING-3 is still in jail in Guatemala.

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#216

S E C R E T 072243Z AUG 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 6658

GUATEMALA CITY ,DIRECTOR

8 Aug 68 IN 66274

REFS: A. MEXICO CITY 6223 (IN 47056)

B. DIRECTOR 16024

1. ROWTON SO FAR UNABLE LEARN MORE FROM LIRING-4 ABOUT HOW JUDGE SCHEDULED TRY CARLOS (JURADO) DELMAR COULD BE BRIBED OTHER THAN STATEMENT BY ARTURO (SERRANO) BEREA TO EFFECT THIS TO BE ARRANGED BY GUAT COMMUNIST PARTY AT REQUEST MEXICAN COMMUNIST PARTY. PERSON TO MAKE ACTUAL BRIBE, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT BE KNOWN AS LEFTIST.

2. MEXICO CITY ENGLISH LANGUAGE DAILY "THE NEWS" 5 AUG CARRIED ARTICLE TITLED "MEXICAN ARTIST TO BE EXECUTED". ARTICLE QUOTED GROUP OF INTELLECTUALS INCLUDING PAINTERS, WRITERS, POETS AND SCULPTORS TO SAY GUAT ~~25 8, 7,8,& 3~~ GVT PLANNING EXECUTE JURADO BECAUSE HE ENTERED GUATEMALA IN HIS CAR FOUR MONTHS AGO AND PICKED UP SOME HITCHHIKING YOUTHS WHO LATER TURNED OUT BE CONNECTED WITH GUAT COMMUNIST GUERRILLAS. ARTICLE OBVIOUSLY PLANTED BY LOCAL LEFTISTS IN EFFORT SPREAD NEWS JURADO ARREST AND DETENTION TO FORCE OFFICIAL GVT INTERVENTION. ROWTON TRYING ESTABLISH FROM LIRING-4 WHO PLANTED ARTICLE.

WH/1 file: LIRING-3 201.

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 6658 S E C R E T

3. BELIEVE NEWS ARTICLE COULD BE USED TO APPROACH LIAISON AND ASK FOR DETAILS ON JURADO CASE WITHOUT INDICATING ANY SPECIAL CONNECTION TO JURADO. SPECIFICALLY, WHAT SENTENCE CAN BE EXPECTED IN JURADO CASE AND WHEN?

4. FOR DIRECTOR: DESPITE SOMEWHAT COOLER RELATIONSHIP WITH ROWTON AT THIS POINT BECAUSE JURADO SITUATION, LIRING-4 STILL WILLING GO PBRUMEN AS SOON AS JURADO FUTURE SETTLED, PARTICULARLY IF HE DEPORTED OR SENTENCED RELATIVELY SHORT JAIL SENTENCE.

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S E C R E T 081854Z AUG 63 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 9326

MEXICO CITY INFO DIRECTOR 8 Aug 63 IN 67011

REF A. MEXICO CITY 6658 (IN 66274)

B. GUATEMALA CITY 9242 (IN 49331)

C. GUATEMALA CITY 9132 (IN 35990)

1. STATION POSITION ON LIRING/3 CASE CONTINUES BE SAME AS THAT REPORTED REF B.

2. DURING LAST QUERY OF LIAISON RE STATUS OF CASE (REPORTED REF C), LIAISON OFFICER SAID SINCE CASE IN HANDS OF COURT THEY UNABLE PROBE FURTHER RE OUTCOME. BELIEVE ANY ADDITIONAL QUERY OF LIAISON WOULD BE CLEAR INDICATION OF SPECIFIC STATION INTEREST IN LIRING/3.

3. DIRECTOR 16024 (REF B OF MEXICO CITY 6658) NOT RECEIVED BY GUATEMALA CITY.

S E C R E T

BT

Fi: LIRING/3

SECRET

201-798301

Carlos JURADO was target of LIFEAT coverage on behalf of Cuba section. Coverage terminated 2 April 68. Name included in list attache to HMMA 35074, 19July68

Lelug-3

SECRET

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MESSAGE FORM
TOTAL COPIES: 46 15

ORIG: Marvin Francis
UNIT: WH/1/3E04
EXT: 6924
DATE: 11 July 1968

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INFO: xref 50-9-11 201-818842 FILE, VR, RI/AN, C/I/OPS, C/I/A, CI, CI/IC 2

(classification) (date and time filed) (elite) (reference number)

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11 22 06z JUL 68

CITE DIRECTOR DIR 15576

11 July 68

TO MEXICO CITY INFO GUATEMALA CITY

HMM HGG

2P

REFS: A. MEXICO CITY 6223 (IN 47056)*

B. GUATEMALA CITY 9236 (IN 47690)**

cc: Publisher, Mexico, CIT: Mexico

1. HQS FILES INDICATE ARTURO SERRANO IN 1966 WAS DIRECTOR PCM PUBLISHING HOUSE FONDO DE CULTURA IN MEXICO CITY, BUT THERE NO DETAILS RE HIS CONTACTS WITH THIRD COUNTRY EXILES OR OFFICIALS. WE THEREFORE UNABLE COMMENT ON VALIDITY HIS CLAIM TO ASSIST LIRING/3.

2. CONCUR GUATEMALA CITY COMMENT REF B. FEEL LIRING/4 SHOULD CONTINUE PRESS SERRANO FOR MORE DETAILS HIS CHANNEL TO AND IDENTITY OF GUATEMALAN OFFICIALS INVOLVED. BELIEVE LIRING/4 AND STATION WILL THEN BE IN BETTER POSITION TO ASSESS VALIDITY SERRANO CLAIM. SUGGEST LIRING/4 ALSO CHECK SERRANO STORY WITH LEFTIST CIRCLE OF FRIENDS TO ATTEMPT VERIFY IT AND EXPLORE POSSIBLE SOURCES OF FUNDS IF FEASIBLE. STATION

Offered help to 201-818842 re: imprisoned 201-798301

ANPW	FI	
PSYCH	DFS	
ABSTRACT X	INDEX X	

Liring/3

D. 50-9-11
B. 201-818842

11 July 68
201-798301

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UNIT: WH/1/3E04
EXT: 6924
DATE: 11 July 1968

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TO MEXICO CITY PAGE - 2

SHOULD NOT ADVANCE LIRING/4 ANY FUNDS UNLESS LIRING/4 ABLE SECURELY EXPLAIN THEIR SOURCE.

END OF MESSAGE

INDEX - SERRANO

WH COMMENTS: *LIRING/4 approached by PCM member Arturo SERRANO who claimed he has contact with Guatemalan exile who could arrange bribe through relatives in Guatemala to assist LIRING/3 who imprisoned that country.

**Guatemala City requested more information prior to commenting on feasibility of bribe offer by SERRANO.

WILLIAM V. BROE
C/WHD

RELEASING OFFICER

WH/2/G:

COORDINATING OFFICERS

W. J. KAUFMAN
C/WH/1

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S E C R E T 250105Z MAY 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 5683

WH/1 file: LIRING-3 201

GUATEMALA CITY INFO DIRECTOR

25 May 68 IN 18245

REFS: A. MEXICO CITY 5590 (IN 12717)

B. GUATEMALA CITY 9002 (IN 13509)

1. HECTOR RODOLFO (SANDOVAL) ALEGRIA IS GUAT REBEL WHO TOGETHER WITH FRANCISCO (LARA) ENGINEERED LIRING-3 AND FRANCISCO LARA TRIP TO GUATEMALA WHERE NOW INCARCERATED. SANDOVAL SAW LIRING-4 SEVERAL TIMES AFTER LIRING-3 ARREST AT ONE POINT SAYING HE MIGHT HAVE TO HOLD UP BANK TO COME TO LIRING-4 ASSISTANCE. ACCORDING MANUEL (MARCUE) PARDINAS, SANDOVAL ARRESTED 5 MAY SHORTLY AFTER HIS WIFE RETURNED FROM TRIP TO GUATEMALA. SANDOVAL WIFE NOW STAYING AT HOUSE OWNED BY MARCUE TOGETHER WITH FAMILY FRANCISCO LARA.

2. IN ATTEMPT COUNTER EVENTUALITY MEXICAN POLICE (ON BASIS INFO PROVIDED BY SANDOVAL) MIGHT BE LOOKING FOR LIRING-4 FOR INTERROGATION, STATION HAS ASKED LIRING-4 GIVE UP BOTH APARTMENTS SHE AND LIRING-3 HAVE BEEN RENTING. LIRING-4 NOW LIVING WITH GIRLFRIEND. BEFORE MOVING SHE RECEIVED VISIT OF MAN WHO DESCRIBED SELF AS LAWYER OF MEXICAN EMBASSY GUATEMALA CITY. LAWYER SAID HE APPOINTED DEFEND LIRING-3. LIRING-4 HAS RECEIVED FIVE SHORT

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PAGE 2 MEXICO CITY 5683 S E C R E T

MESSAGES FROM LIRING-3 SMUGGLED FROM JAIL. ONE IN OPEN CODE SUGGESTED S/W BE PASSED TO HIM. STATION NATURALLY WILL DO NO SUCH THING.

S E C R E T

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S E C R E T 162103Z MAY 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 2996 16 May 68 IN 12603

MEXICO CITY INFO DIRECTOR

REF: MEXICO CITY 5540 (IN 08570)

LIAISON REPORTS THAT PERSAVAL AND LIRING/3 BEING HELD PAVON PRISON FARM PENDING SENTENCING BY FOURTH JUZGADO DE PRIMERA CNSTANCIA. ONLY CHARGE IS DISTRIBUTING COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA. LIAISON SPECULATES THEY WILL RECEIVE LIGHT SENTENCE IF ANY.

S E C R E T

BT

WH/1 file: LIRING-3 201

WC

201-798301

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S E C R E T 102305Z MAY 68 CITE MEXICO CITY 5540

10 MAY 68 IN 08570

GUATEMALA CITY INFO DIRECTOR

PBRUMEN

REF: MEXICO CITY 5375 (IN 98384)

WH/1 file: LIRING-3 201

WC

1. MANUEL (MARCUE) PARDINAS INFORMED LIRING-4 8 MAY THAT HIS SISTER AND DAUGHTER IN LAW HAD SUCCEEDED IN OBTAINING GUAT VISA AND TRAVELED GUATEMALA CITY IN AN EFFORT TO SEE CARLOS MINUEL (PERSAVAL) MARCUE IN JAIL. MARCUE SAID SISTER AND DAUGHTER IN LAW WHO RETURNING WEEK 12 MAY LEARNED PERSAVAL AND LIRING-3 SENTENCED TO MINIMUM TERM OF SIX MONTHS.

2. LIRING-4 CURRENTLY EXPLORING POSSIBILITY TRAVEL GUATEMALA TO TALK TO LIRING-3. STATION IN FAVOR SUCH TRAVEL IF SHE CAN GET VISA AS LIRING-3 CAN BE EXPECTED URGE LIRING-4 GO CUBA DURING HIS TERM OF IMPRISONMENT.

3. CAN GUATEMALA CITY STATION CONFIRM LIRING-3 SENTENCE AND PROVIDE DETAILS.

S E C R E T

BT

SECRET

HMMA-34623
10 May 1968
19-120-13/1

E. LIRING-3: During this period, LIRING-3 was introduced to members of a Guatemalan exile group by the [illegible] of the sister of his mistress. LIRING-3 agreed to help one or more representatives of this group cross the Guatemalan border. At the urging of these representatives he also agreed to meet in Guatemala with a woman in charge of logistics for the FAR movement. LIRING-3 spent the better part of the period under review manufacturing false documentation for the Guatemalan exiles. The Station used the LIEMBRACE surveillance team to cover some of the meetings between LIRING-3 and some of his nervous Guatemalan friends. Copies of photographs taken by the LIEMBRACEs of these meetings were forwarded to the Guatemala City Station and Headquarters. Due to several postponements, LIRING-3 and his Guatemalan contacts had not left for Guatemala by the end of the period under review.

201-798341

S E C R E T

Chief of Station, Mexico City

Chief, Western Hemisphere Division

Chief of Station, Guatemala City

[illegible]-5 contacts with Guatemalan Revolutionaries in Mexico

REFERENCE: [illegible]A-34413, 5 April 196[illegible]

The Guatemala City Station has not been able to identify any of the persons whose photographs were forwarded as an attachment to Reference.

Peter [illegible]. [illegible]

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HGGA-9386 3 May 1968

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E C R E T 032121Z MAY 68 CITE GUATEMALA CITY 8961

EXICO CITY INFO DIRECTOR

WH/ file: 201. WC

3 MAY 68 IN 03831

BRUMEN LIRING-3 LIRING-4

EF: MEXICO CITY 5423 (IN 01169)

1. ESLAIR TEAM PRESENT INVESTIGATION CARRIED OUT TO

DETERMINE OCCUPANTS OF 35 AVENIDA 22-67, ZONA 5 GUATEMALA CITY

ITH FOLLOWING RESULTS:

A. OCCUPANTS OF HOUSE ARE TIRZO (FUENTES) SANDOVAL,

ORN 19 JULY 1922 AT SAN ANTONIO VILLASECA, DEPT OF RETALHULEU,

ND HIS WIFE, MARIA DEL MILAGRO (PERALTA) E. DE FUENTES. (NO

TATION TRACES EITHER FUENTES OR WIFE.) BEAUTY SHIP (SALON DE

ELLEZA "LILLIAN") ALSO INSTALLED IN HOUSE, BUT NOT YET ABLE

ETERMINE NAMES OF EMPLOYEES.

B. ESLAIRS HAVE NOTICED 1963 MERCURY WITH GUAT LICENSE

LATES P-31-341 PARKED AT HOUSE ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS. THIS CAR

EGISTERED TO FEDERICO (CALDERON) GALICIA WHO ADDRESS 21 AVENIDA

3-36, ZONA 7. (NO STATION TRACES CALDERON.)

2. ESLAIRS WILL ATTEMPT IDENTIFY ANY OTHER PERSONS -- SERVANTS

EMPLOYEES -- WHO MAY BE AT ADDRESS.

E C R E T

BT

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